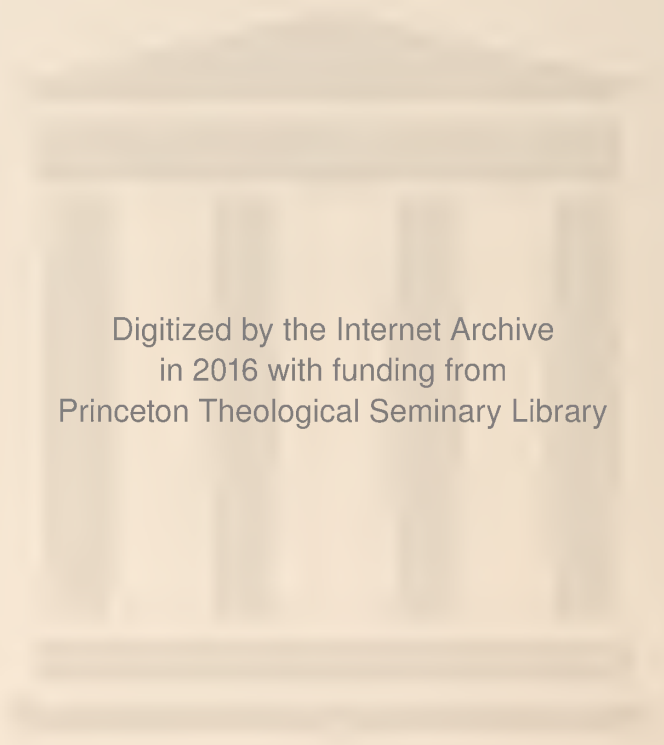




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ARTICLE I.—*Idea of the Church.*

[Concluded from the April number.]

The doctrinal argument.—The relation between theology and ecclesiology is so intimate, that the one of necessity determines the other. The Protestant scheme of the doctrines of Christianity unavoidably leads to the Protestant theory of the Church; and the Romish system of doctrine, with a like necessity, leads to the Romish view of the nature of the Church. This being the case, all the arguments, which sustain the true doctrine concerning the plan of salvation, are conclusive in favour of the true theory of the Church. This is the real strength of the Protestant cause. The doctrines of Christianity are not only revealed with far more distinctness than the nature of the Church, but they enter so deeply into the experience of Christians that they cannot be renounced. Every evangelical believer, therefore, feels, when called upon to embrace the Ritual doctrine concerning the Church, that he is called upon to renounce his entire faith, so far, at least, as the method of salvation is concerned.

If we leave mysticism out of view, there are three radical forms of doctrine, with which are connected corresponding views of the nature of the Church. The first of these forms is

the Rationalistic, which more or less completely banishes the supernatural element from Christianity. Some Rationalists deny even the supernatural origin of the gospel. Others, while they admit that Christianity is an immediate revelation from God, make its doctrines as little mysterious as possible. Matters of faith are brought, as much as may be, down to the comprehension of the human reason, and accommodated, as far as possible, to the desires of the human heart. According to this system, the moral state of man is but little affected by the fall, either as to his character or powers. The conditions of acceptance with God are acts of virtue; and the only assistance needed or granted is the moral influence of the truths and institutions of Christianity. These three points embrace the distinctive features of that system of Rationalism, which, under the names of Pelagianism and low Arminianism, has so extensively prevailed.

To those who hold this view of the nature of Christianity, the Church can be nothing supernatural. The epithet *mystical*, as applied to it, can have no sense. There are, however, three views of the nature of the Church, one or another of which is commonly embraced by those who hold this system of doctrine. 1. That the Church is simply a voluntary society; founded, it may be, by Christ, and therefore having so far a divine origin, but differing in nothing essential from other voluntary associations of men. It has the same, and no higher powers; its members can modify it at pleasure, prescribing whatever mode of organization and conditions of membership they see fit; and it enjoys no special promise of the divine guidance and protection.

2. A second theory is the Erastian. This system denies that the Church is a self-governing society, having its own laws, prerogatives, and officers. It is regarded as a mere phase of the State. The State has for its end the general good, and therefore has the right to regulate every institution which has the public good for its object. As it organizes and controls an army for the protection of its subjects, and a system of schools for their instruction in secular knowledge; so it has a right to determine what religious doctrines shall be taught, and to commission those who are to teach them.

3. A third theory takes somewhat higher ground. The Church is a divine institution; an external society, with its doctrine, organization, and worship, prescribed by Christ. To it all the promises belong. There is no covenant mercy to any out of its pale; though "the uncovenanted mercies of God" are, by the advocates of this doctrine, commonly regarded as abundantly sufficient for all moral and sincere men, especially among the heathen. The Church, however, is a kind of peerage, an aristocratic and exclusive circle. This peculiar distinction, however, of the members of this society, does not depend on any supernatural grace connected with its services. It is much more analogous to the peculiar privileges of the aristocracy, where an order of nobility exists. Being a member of that privileged class, neither supposes a man to be better, nor does it render him better, than other men. Or it is analogous to the ancient theocracy. It was not because descent from Abraham made a man a saint, or that the rite of circumcision changed the moral character, that the Jews regarded themselves as the exclusive favourites of heaven. It was simply because they belonged to a community to which God had, as they assumed, promised his saving goodness. This is the common high-church theory of the Church, as distinguished from Ritualism, which is a higher and more mystic doctrine, and supposes that the Spirit of God is in all the members of the Church, considered as an external society. High-churchism, of the character just referred to, proceeds on the denial of all experimental religion. It supposes that the conditions of salvation are a reputable mode of life, and fellowship with the church organized in a certain way, and having a regular succession.

The second comprehensive form of Christian doctrine is called Ritualism, because it makes the rites of the Church the exclusive channels of grace and salvation. This system admits the doctrines of the fall and of original sin, of the Trinity, of redemption, and of grace. But it teaches 1. That the benefits of redemption, and especially the grace of the Holy Spirit, are not communicated in any other way than by means of the sacraments. 2. That the sacraments, when properly administered, always convey grace to those who do not interpose the obstacle of mortal sin. 3. That it is only the sacraments

administered by duly authorized ministers in communion with the Church, which have this saving efficacy.

According to this view of the method of salvation, it necessarily follows that the visible Church is a storehouse and channel of grace; that all out of its pale perish, and that all within its communion are saved. Ritualists teach that Christ gave the Holy Spirit, and the power to forgive sin, to his apostles. The apostles committed these gifts to prelates as their successors. The prelates, in unbroken succession, preserve these powers in the Church, and commit to priests, by the imposition of their hands, the ability to render the sacraments efficacious, and to grant absolution for sin. Every man, therefore, in baptism, is both justified and sanctified. He is translated from a state of sin and condemnation into a state of habitual grace. Grace is strengthened by the rite of confirmation, and by receiving the eucharist. It is lost by mortal sins, and then can only be restored by the sacrament of penance, which includes contrition, confession (to a priest), and satisfaction on the part of the penitent, and absolution on the part of the priest. The only method, according to this system, by which we can become united with Christ, and partakers of his redemption, is by union with the visible Church. This system places the salvation of men in the hands of the clergy, and enables them to sell pardon and holiness for money, or for obedience. This is the "mystery of iniquity" which has exalted itself, or rather enabled antichrist to exalt himself, in the temple of God; showing himself as God; claiming the prerogatives, and the obedience which belong to God alone. The whole Romish system of doctrine is true, if this theory of the Church be true; and this theory of the Church is false, if the theology on which it is founded be false.

The third system of doctrine is the evangelical, which teaches 1. That all men, in consequence of the fall of Adam, are in a helpless state of sin and misery. 2. That the eternal Son of God, having assumed our nature, and having been made under the law, has brought in everlasting righteousness. 3. That this righteousness, with all the benefits of redemption, is freely offered to all men. 4. That it is by faith in Christ that we become united to him, and that he dwells in us by his

Spirit. 5. That all who, by the power of the Spirit of God, are thus united to Christ by faith, are partakers of justification, adoption, and sanctification, together with all the benefits which do, here and hereafter, either accompany or flow from them. 6. That union with the visible church, and participation of the sacraments, are not the indispensable conditions of our union with Christ, neither are they the means of communicating, in the first instance, his benefits and grace, but rather the appointed means by which our union with Christ is acknowledged, and from time to time strengthened and renewed.

It is conceded that the Church is the body of Christ, and therefore consists of those who are in Christ; and as, according to the evangelical system, faith is the means of union with Christ, it follows: 1. That none but believers are in the Church; and 2. That all true believers are as such and for that reason alone, members of the Church of Christ. 3. The Church, therefore, in its true idea or essential nature, is not a visible society, but the company of faithful men—the *cætus sanctorum*, or the communion of saints. The turning point, therefore, between the two systems, that on which all other matters in dispute between Ritualists and the Evangelical, Romanists and Protestants, depend, is the answer to the question, What unites us to Christ? If we are united to Christ by faith, then all believers are in Christ, and constitute the Church. If we can come to Christ only by union with the visible Church, and through the ministrations of the priesthood, then the whole Romish theory of the Church must be conceded. Many Ritualists freely admit that the above-mentioned question is the hinge of the whole controversy. Thus, Archdeacon Manning says: "Here in fact is the question:—Is the Church a means to an end, or is it a separable consequence of that end which may be otherwise effected? Are we, by means of the Church, made partakers of Christ; or being otherwise made partakers of Christ, are we, as it may be or not, made partakers of the Church? Or again, are we, by means of baptism, made partakers of Christ; or, being otherwise made partakers of Christ, are we, as it may be or not, made partakers of baptism?"* This is indeed the question, Are we made partakers

* Unity of the Church, New York edition, p. 233.

of Christ by a personal act of faith, or by union with the visible Church?

The Protestant answer to that question may be given in the language of Hooker, "That which linketh Christ to us is his mere mercy and love towards us; that which tieth us to him, is our faith in the promised salvation revealed in the word of truth."* In proof of this point it may be remarked, 1. The Scriptures teach concerning those who are in Christ, what is true of none others than true believers. There is no condemnation to those who are in Christ, Rom. viii. 1. If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature, 2 Cor. v. 17. To those in Christ, he is made of God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30. They are sure of eternal life or a blessed resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 22. They are quickened, reconciled to God and forgiven, Col. ii. 11-14. These things are not true of unbelievers, and therefore none but believers are in Christ, and faith and not union with the visible Church unites us to him. 2. To be in Christ means the same as Christ being in us, or the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us. But these forms of expression are applicable to none but true believers. Therefore to be in Christ implies the possession of truth faith. 3. The Scriptures teach that our union with Christ is not an external connection, but is vital and saving. It is analogous to the union between Adam and his posterity. As all in Adam die, in all Christ shall be made alive. It is like the union between the vine and branches, or between the head and members of the same body. All who are in Christ are partakers of his Spirit and life; hence it is productive of all the effects above ascribed to it, viz., justification, sanctification, sonship, and eternal life. See Gal. iii. 26. 4. All these saving benefits which are ascribed to union with Christ, are also ascribed to faith. Therefore faith is the bond of that union. We are saved by faith, we are justified by faith, we are sanctified by faith, we are the sons of God by faith, Eph. iii. 17; Gal. iii. 26, &c. Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God, 1 John iv. 15. We receive the promise of the Spirit by faith, Gal. iii. 14. Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Son of God, is born of God, 1 John

* Sermon on Jude.

v. 1. Wherever there is genuine faith, there, according to the Scriptures, are found in greater or less degree, peace with God, access into his presence, hope of his glory, assurance of his love, purity of heart and victory over the world. The faith which has all this power is not a mere historical assent to the gospel, but a cordial acquiescence in its truths, founded on the testimony of God with and by the truth through his Spirit. From these considerations it is abundantly evident that none are in Christ but true believers; and, as it is conceded that the Church consists of those who are in Christ, it must consist of true believers.

The gospel is a message from God to individual sinners. It calls each man to repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. These are personal duties. They cannot be performed by one man for another; by the priest for the people. Every man must repent for himself, and believe for himself. And to all and every one, no matter who, or where he is, in the midst of a Christian community and within the pale of the visible Church, or a benighted heathen poring over the inspired page, with no other teacher than the Holy Spirit, to all, without exception, the divine promise is, "Whosoever believeth shall be saved." Christ says to every human being to whom his gospel comes, "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." The Bible declares that the way of access to God through Jesus Christ is now open to all. We do not need any mediating priest. Our only priest is Jesus the Son of God, who, having by the one offering up of himself, purged away our sins, is set down on the right hand of the majesty on high, where he ever lives to make intercession for us. Having such an high priest, we are authorized and commanded to come boldly unto the throne of grace, to obtain mercy and find grace to help in every time of need.

Romanism (Ritualism in all its forms,) denies all this. It denies that the way of access to God is thus thrown open. It says to the trembling sinner, who would draw near to God, "Stand back, you have not the right of entrance. I, the priest, must go for you, and obtain the blessings you need. Your only access to Christ and God is through me." Here again, in another form, we have the turning point between Protestantism

and Romanism. "Is the Christian ministry a priesthood? or, are all believers priests, as having, through Christ, immediate access unto God?" It is written with beams, not of solar, but of celestial brightness, to which nothing but the god of this world* can blind the eyes of men, that by Christ we all have access, through one Spirit, unto the Father. As soon therefore, as the Scriptures became accessible to the people, this was one of the truths which commanded universal assent. It will be remembered that at the time of the Reformation, the three radical points in which all Protestants united, were 1. The denial of the authority of tradition as part of the rule of faith. 2. The denial of the priesthood of the Christian ministry. 3. The denial of the authority of the Pope. With these three protestations against error, was of course connected the affirmation of the opposite truths, 1. That the word of God, as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is the only infallible rule of faith and practice. 2. That Jesus Christ is the only priest or mediator between God and man, and that through him every believer has free access unto God, and is therefore a member of the universal priesthood of the saints. 3. That Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church. The denial of any one of these points is a denial of Protestantism. The second is the more immediately connected with the method of salvation, and is on that account, it may be, the most important. What the apostle says, Gal. v. 2—4, concerning circumcision, may be said of the doctrine that ministers are priests. Paul tells the Galatians that if they were circumcised, Christ should profit them nothing. If they were circumcised, they were bound to do the whole law. Christ had become of none effect to them; they had fallen from grace. Circumcision was not an isolated service, it was part of a whole system. That system was a legal one, and of necessity opposed to the system of grace. Those, therefore, who were circumcised, did thereby renounce the whole doctrine of gratuitous salvation, through Christ the Redeemer. In like manner, the doctrine of the priesthood of the Christian ministry, is an inseparable part of the Ritual system. If that one doctrine be adopted, the whole system is adopted. If any

* See 2 Cor. vi.

man comes to God through a human priest, he thereby rejects the whole Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of Christ, and of the way of salvation through him. The Anglican, or Oxford system, therefore, which admits the authority of tradition, and the priesthood of the Christian ministry, is essentially antagonistic to Protestantism. All its sympathies, all its logical tendencies, and all its affinities, are with Rome. It is but Romanism spoiled. And as we have chemistry and astronomy for children, so Puseyism is Popery for babes.

The nature of the Church is then determined by the nature of the gospel. The Church, by common consent, consists of those who are in Christ. The condition of union with Christ is, therefore, the condition of membership in the Church. If we become the members of Christ and partakers of his salvation, by an external connection with a visible society, and if there is no other way of union with him, then of course that body to which the attributes, promises, and prerogatives of the Church belong, is in its essential nature a visible society. But if, on the other hand, the Bible teaches that a faith which works by love and purifies the heart, is the bond of union with Christ, then a man may be in the visible Church and yet not in Christ, and he may be in Christ, and yet not in the visible Church. The visible Church, therefore, and those who are in the Church, are not conterminous; they are not different designations for the same class of persons. The attributes, promises, and prerogatives which belong to those in Christ, do not belong to the visible Church. This is the sum of the Protestant doctrine on the nature of the Church. It is a company of believers; faith is therefore the condition of membership, and none but believers are members of that Church which is the body of Christ.

The Historical Argument.—The history of the Idea of the Church would be one of the most interesting chapters of a history of doctrine. Such a history would naturally divide itself into the following periods: 1. The apostolic period. 2. The transition period, during which the attributes of the true Church came to be gradually transferred to the external society of professed believers. 3. The period of the com-

plete ascendancy of the Ritual theory of the Church:—and 4. The Reformation period. Such a history would fill a volume. Our design is merely to exhibit the nature of the argument in favour of the true doctrine concerning the Church, as drawn from the history of that doctrine.

The truth was taught in its purity by the apostles; that truth was gradually obscured; it was, however, never lost, but was preserved under all the corruptions heaped upon it; and in God's appointed time was revived in its original brightness. As this is true of all the great doctrines of the Gospel, especially of those which relate to the nature of man, and to the method of salvation, so it is no less true with regard to the doctrine of the Church.

We have seen that during the apostolic period the Church was regarded as a company of faithful men, a *cœtus sanctorum*, or body of saints, and that true faith was the indispensable condition of membership, so that none but believers were considered to belong to the Church, and all believers were regarded as within its pale. The very word *ἐκκλησία*, during this period, was never used except as a collective term for the *κλητοί*; for those whom God, by his word and Spirit, had called out of the world or kingdom of Satan, into the kingdom of his dear Son. None, therefore, were ever addressed as members of the Church, who were not also called believers, saints, the sanctified in Christ Jesus, the children of God, and heirs of eternal life. They were all described as members of the body of Christ, in whom he dwells by his Spirit, and who, therefore, are the temple of God. They constitute the family of God, the flock of the good Shepherd, and the bride of Christ. They are holy because the Spirit of God dwells in them. They are also united by that Spirit into one body, having the same faith, the same hope, the same baptism, the same Lord, and the same God. They are, therefore, bound together in the bonds of Christian fellowship and love. To them God has promised his continued presence to guide them into the knowledge and belief of the truth; to protect them from all their enemies, from without and from within; and to keep them through faith unto eternal life. During this whole period it was taught that there is but one Mediator between God and man, and one High Priest of

our profession, Jesus, the Son of God, who has passed through the heavens, and who ever lives to make intercession for us. Through him all men were exhorted to draw near to God with full assurance of faith, because we all have access through him by one Spirit, unto the Father. For we are all the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ. Believers, therefore, are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise. They, and they alone, constitute that body of which all these attributes are predicated, and to which all these promises are made.

Such being the nature of the Church, as it is described in the apostolic writings, it follows of course that all out of the Church perish, and all within the Church are saved. This, therefore, is a doctrine most clearly revealed in Scripture. The Church consists of believers; all believers are within the Church; faith is the indispensable condition of salvation. These are plain scriptural truths, and they of course include the doctrine that salvation is confined to the limits of the true Church; i. e., it is confined to the holy, to those who exercise repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. This was the doctrine concerning the Church which prevailed during the apostolic period.

The transition period cannot be marked off by precise limits. It is difficult and unnecessary to say definitely where it begins or where it ends. The characteristic of this period, as the name imports, is indistinctness. No one definite conception of the Church is presented and adhered to. Sometimes it is represented as consisting of true believers, sometimes of all who professed to be Christians. The distinction between the visible and invisible, the nominal and true Church, is neither formally inculcated nor explicitly denied. It is sometimes recognized and sometimes overlooked. It is here as with the doctrines of sin, grace, and redemption; we sometimes meet with the clearest declarations of the truth, and at others with the no less unequivocal assertion of error. "The general character of the period" (before Cyprian,) says Rothe, "is that of indistinctness. We constantly meet with a conception of the Church in which variable and inconsistent representations are combined. One is soon perplexed when he endeavours to reduce the declarations of the fathers of this period to any consistent

theory. We often find the same fathers, either overlooking or directly denying consequences, which flow with logical necessity from the principles which they elsewhere advance; so that it is impossible to arrive at any precise apprehension of their idea of the Church.”*

By the common consent of Christians the Church is one, catholic, holy, and apostolical. We find, therefore, these attributes, in all their modifications, freely ascribed to the Church by the fathers of the first three centuries. By the Church, however, they often meant the aggregate of believers; this is the true idea of the Church. In this sense all the attributes above mentioned do truly belong to it. But as believers actually and visibly exist in this world, as they manifest themselves to be believers by the profession of their faith; by their union in the worship of Christ; and by their holy life in obedience to his commands, the body of those who professed to be believers was called the Church. To the aggregate then of these professors of the true faith, all the attributes of the Church were referred. This was a very natural process, and had the semblance of scriptural authority in its behalf. In the Bible all who profess to believe are called believers, and everything that is, or can be predicated of believers, is predicated of such professors. From this, however, it is not to be inferred that the attributes of believers belong to unbelievers. The only thing this scriptural usage teaches us is that the Church consists of believers; and that all that is predicated of the Church is ascribed to it as so constituted. The fathers, however, went one step beyond the usage of Scripture. They not merely addressed professed believers as believers, and spoke of the aggregate of such professors as the Church, but they transferred to the body of professors the attributes which belonged to the body of believers. Even this was in their day a much more venial error than it is in ours. For the great body of professors were at first, and especially in times of persecution, sincere believers; and the distinction between the visible Church and the world, was then the distinction between Christianity and heathenism. It was natural, therefore, to

* Rothe's *Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer verfassung*. I Bd. s. 575.

speaking of this band of united and suffering Christians, separated from their idolatrous countrymen, as indeed the Church of which unity, catholicity, and holiness could be predicated, and out of whose pale there is no salvation. It is also to be remembered that it was mainly in opposition to heretics, that the fathers claimed for the body of professors the attributes of the true Church. They could say, with full propriety, that out of the pale of the visible Church there is no salvation, because out of that pale there was then no saving truth. All were in the visible Church except the heathen and heretics, who denied all of Christianity but its name. The Church, therefore, in the sense of these early fathers, included all who professed faith in the true gospel; and, therefore, their claiming for such professors the attributes of the true Church, is something very different from the conduct of those who, in our day, set up that claim in behalf of a small portion of the professed followers of Christ.

There was, however, during this period, a constant manifestation of a consciousness that something was wrong about this doctrine of the Church. There was a manifest incongruity between the empirical or actual Church, and the Church as described in Scriptures. According to the Bible, the members of the Church were members of Christ's body; they were filled with his Spirit, and were united with each other, not only outwardly, in the same society, but inwardly, in the bonds of Christian love. In experience, however, it was found that multitudes were members of the Church, who were not members of Christ, and who were entirely destitute of his Spirit. As the Church increased in numbers, and especially when outward peace had for a while prevailed, it was found that this incongruity between the actual and the true Church, became more and more apparent.

There were three methods of meeting this difficulty, all of which were adopted. 1. A distinction was made between the visible Church and the true Church. It was denied that every man was a Christian who chose to assume the Christian name, or join in the services of the Christian Church. It was urged that the same distinction must be made here, that Scripture and reason make in all similar cases, between the sincere and

insincere, the nominal and real. It was held to be preposterous and fatal to affirm of nominal Christians all that was said of true believers. It was therefore denied that the attributes and promises belonging to the Church pertained to any but the living members of Christ's body. This is the true doctrine, and differs in no essential particular from the doctrine afterwards revived at the Reformation, and universally adopted by Protestants. It was substantially their distinction between the visible and invisible Church. This was the method adopted by Origen, and afterwards by Augustin. The former makes the distinction between the external Church and the *κρείως ἐκκλησία*, the real Church. The latter consists of the holy, and it is of them only that what is said and promised in Scripture concerning the Church, is to be understood.* The latter distinguished between the *Corpus Christi verum* and the *corpus Christi simulatum*, between the true and the nominal Church. Only the holy really belong to the Church. The wicked are in it only in appearance. He illustrates this idea in various ways. The holy constitute the Church as the temple of God; they are the living stones of which it is composed. The wicked make no part of it, but are simply externally attached to it. The saints are the wheat, the wicked are the chaff; the latter are no more the Church than chaff is wheat. The human body consists of bone and muscle; the evil humours which circulate within it, make no part of the body. Augustin uses these and similar illustrations to teach just what Protestants teach, that the Church consists of true believers, and that the attributes, promises, and prerogatives of the Church, belong to the communion of saints, and to any external society only so far as it conforms to that idea.† To Augustin the same objec-

* See the proof passages as cited by Rothe in his *Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche*, Bd. i. s. 616, Hase's *Dogmatik*, s. 352. Baumgarten Crusius, *Dogmengeschichte* ii. s. 360.

† *Augustin, de Doctrina Chr.* iii. 45. Non revera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in æternum, sed dicendum fuit de Domini corpore *vero* atque *permixto*, aut *vero* atque *simulato*, quia non solum in æternum, verum etiam nunc hypocritæ non cum illo esse dicendi sunt, quamvis in ejus esse videantur ecclesia.

De Baptismo contra Donatistas l. vi. § 5. Habere autem baptismum et tradere et accipere malos nequaquam in melius commutatos, et de scripturis canonicis

tion was made by the Donatists that is now made by Romanists against Protestants, viz: that the distinction between the Church visible and invisible supposes there are two churches. He answered the objection, just as Protestants do, by saying there is but one Church, the wicked are not in the Church; that the distinction between sincere and insincere Christians, does not suppose there are two gospels or two Christs. It is one and the same Church that appears on earth, with many impenitent men attached to it in external communion, which in heaven is to appear in its true character.

2. A second method adopted to reconcile the actual with the ideal Church, the visible with the invisible, was the exercise of discipline. The Scriptures clearly teach that the Church consists of true believers. As soon, then, as the doctrine began to prevail, that all that the Scriptures say of the Church applies to the society of professed believers, a strenuous endeavour was made, and long continued to make that society correspond to the Scriptural account of the Church. None but those considered saints were admitted; all who gave evidence of not being saints were cast out. The period when the discipline of the Church was most severe, viz: the end of the second and the first half of the third century, was precisely the transition

et de Cypriani literis satis, ut arbitror, demonstravimus: quos non pertinere ad sanctam Ecclesiam Dei, quamvis intus esse videantur, ex hoc apertissime apparet, quia isti sunt avari, raptores, seneratores, invidi, malevoli et cetera hujusmodi; illa autem columba unica, pudica et casta, sponsa sine macula et ruga, hortus conclusus. . . .

Though Augustin adopted substantially Cyprian's theory of the Church, yet it is apparent he did not adopt the fundamental principle on which that theory rested, or at least to which it led. To the question, What constitutes membership in that body to which the attributes and prerogatives of the Church belong? Cyprian, or at least those who adopted his theory, answered, Baptism and subjection to regular bishops. This is the Romish and Ritual answer. Protestants say, Faith, whose fruit is a holy life. And this is Augustin's answer. This is the turning point. According to the one view, the Church consists of "all sorts of men;" according to the other, it consists of believers. That this is Augustin's doctrine is beyond dispute. De Unitate Eccl. § 74, he says: Et multi tales (openly wicked) sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia, et tamen non sunt in ecclesia. In the same connection he teaches that a man who is reconciled to the visible Church is not inserted in the Church, unless his heart be changed. And in like manner, if any one within the outward Church is opposed to the truth, he ceases to be a member without and before any excommunication.

period of which we are now speaking; the period in which the attributes and prerogatives of the true Church came to be ascribed to the society of professing Christians. To this source is also to be referred the rise of the Novatians, and afterwards of the Donatists. These schismatics assumed, 1. That the external Church is the true Church. They overlooked the distinction between the visible and invisible Church. 2. They insisted, therefore, that the outward Church should consist only of saints. 3. They held that any society which admitted the unrenewed to their communion, ceased to be a Church, because it ceased to be holy. 4. They, therefore, refused all communion with such societies, and maintained that they alone constituted the Church of God on earth. There is no doubt that many of the best men of their respective periods belonged to these dissenters. Their object was most praiseworthy. They desired to secure the holiness of the external Church; but as all their efforts arose from a false theory, they came to nothing. The external society of professing Christians is not the body of Christ, and all attempts to make it appear as such must fail.*

* On this whole subject, see in Neander's *History of the Church*, his account of the Novatian and Donatist schisms. As to the former, he says: "Novatian, and his opponents were involved in the same fundamental error, and differed only in the application of it. It was the fundamental error of confounding the notions of the visible and the invisible Church. Hence was it, that Novatian transferring the predicate of purity and unspotted holiness, which belongs to the invisible Church, the community of the saints as such, to the visible form in which the visible Church appears, drew the conclusion, that every community which suffered unclean members to remain in it, ceased to be any longer a true Church. But the opponents of Novatian, who started with the same fundamental error, differ from him only in laying at the basis of their speculations the notion of the Church as mediated by a succession of bishops." Vol. i. p. 247, Torrey's Translation. Again, vol. ii. p. 203, when speaking of the Donatists, the author says: "Both parties were involved in the same grand mistake with regard to the conception of the Church, by their habit of confounding the notions of the invisible and of the visible Church with each other." Hence the Catholic fathers maintained, that separated from the one visible Church, with its succession of bishops, there is no salvation. And hence, too, on their side, the Donatists maintained that any community which tolerated unclean members, ceased to be a true Christian Church." See the following pages for Neander's criticism on the "confused mixture of conceptions" as to the nature of the Church, manifested in Augustin's controversy with the Donatists. How near Augustin came, however, to the true doctrine is shown by Neander, in p. 212.

A third method of getting over the difficulty was unhappily adopted and sanctioned. The whole theory of the Church was altered and corrupted. It was assumed that all the attributes of the Church belonged to the visible society of professed Christians. It was, however, apparent that such society did not possess these attributes according to the scriptural account of their nature. The view taken, therefore, of the nature of these attributes was changed. As the visible Church did not suit the attributes of the true Church, the attributes were made to suit the Church. According to the Scriptures, the Church is one as the body of Christ, animated by one Spirit, and having the same faith and love. In this sense the external Church was not one; and, therefore, unity was made to consist in something external and visible. The Church is holy; but the external Church was seen to be impure. The holiness of the Church was therefore made to consist, not in holiness, but in the power to make holy. The Church is catholic, because it includes all saints; but this was made to mean that out of the pale of an external society, there is no salvation even for the most orthodox and exemplary of men. Thus every thing was corrupted and degraded by those who insisted on transferring to the society of professed believers, what the Scriptures say of the Church.

It was, however, only by degrees, and under the stress of external circumstances, that this false theory was introduced and adopted. At first Christians found themselves in the presence of none but Jews and heathen. The Church, as distinguished from them, was composed of believers in Christ. Its bond of union was a common faith. It was catholic, because it included all professed believers. It was exclusive, because none out of Christ could be saved.

The case was not materially different when Christians found themselves confronted with heretics. In opposition to heretics it could still be said, as the early fathers did say, that the Church was one, catholic, exclusive, and apostolic. Heresies were novelties. Those who adopted them departed from the Church, because they renounced the faith which all Christians professed, and which is essential to the Christian character.

Soon, however, men separated from the main body of Chris-

tians, who professed the same faith, who had the same sacraments and form of government. Were these schismatics in the Church? Could everything which the fathers had affirmed of the whole body of believers, as opposed to Jews, pagans, and heretics, be still affirmed of the majority of professing Christians, in opposition to schismatics? If so, it must be in a sense entirely new. Here, therefore, was the true turning point. A theory of unity, catholicity, and apostolicity, was now gradually framed so as to suit this new emergency. The unity of the Church could no longer be placed where the Bible places it, in the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, nor in the profession of the same faith, nor in having the same sacraments, nor in the same form of government. All these the Novatians and Donatists had, as well as others. The only difference between them and others was, that they were in communion with different bishops. The bond of unity must therefore lie in the episcopate; not in the office, for that both had, but in its true succession. Every other attribute was subjected to a like perversion. The Bible says there is no salvation out of the Church, for the Church includes all the saints. The early fathers said there was no salvation out of the Church, for there were none out of the Church but heathen and heretics. It was a very different matter, however, when Cyprian came to deny salvation to his brethren holding the same faith, and giving the same evidence of being in Christ, with himself. To them he says there is no salvation, because they were not in communion with the right bishop. There must be some adequate reason for this. Why could not the Novatians be saved? The gospel declares that all who are in Christ, all who are partakers of his Spirit, shall be saved. If, therefore, there is no salvation but to those in communion with certain bishops, it must be because there can be no union with Christ, and no participation of the Holy Spirit, except through such bishops. Thus the whole theory and nature of the Church was changed. Instead of every man having access to God through Jesus Christ, and being made a partaker of the Holy Ghost in virtue of union with Christ, the Spirit is given exclusively to the bishops, and to others mechanically or magically by episcopal ministrations. This was the perversion of the true doctrine effected by Cyprian. The

bishops are the Church. The Church is one because the episcopate is one. The Church is holy because the bishops have the power to give the Holy Ghost. There is no salvation out of the Church; because none can receive the Spirit but through the bishops. In all this Cyprian was doubtless sincere. He had been led to the conviction that all the attributes and promises pertaining to the Church belong to the visible society of professed believers. So long as that society embraced all who professed to be Christians, the incongruity involved in this theory, though great, was not so apparent. But when some of the best men of the age came, on conscientious, though mistaken grounds, to separate from the external communion of their brethren, and when they were declared to be out of Christ, and destitute of his Spirit, because out of communion with the dominant party, it became necessary in order to justify such a judgment, to assume such a theory of the Church as should exclude from its pale, and from all fellowship with Christ, those who were not obedient to bishops regularly descended from the apostles. This was the parent corruption, the fruitful source of almost all the other evils which have afflicted the Church.*

* See Neander's account of the Novatian and Donatist controversies, and his estimate of Cyprian and Augustin. Of the former, he says: "In bringing the episcopal system to its completion, we have seen the important part acted by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. Not less important was his agency in converting the Church into an outward system of mediation, and confounding together the Old and New Testament positions generally. In this regard, his work, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, written after the middle of the third century, amidst the divisions with which he had to contend, constitutes an epoch.... His chain of ideas is this: Christ communicated to the apostles, the apostles to the bishops by ordination, the power of the Holy Ghost; by the succession of bishops, the power of the Holy Ghost, whence alone all religious acts can receive their efficacy, is extended through the channel of this outward transmission, to all times. Thus is preserved in this organism of the Church, ever unfolding itself with a living progression, that divine life, which, flowing from the fountain-head through this point of mediation, is thus distributed to all the members united with the organic whole; and whosoever breaks off his outward connection with this outward organism, does, by so doing, exclude himself from participating in that divine life, and from the way of salvation. No one, by himself alone, can, by faith in the Saviour, have any share in the divine life that flows from him; no one can, by faith alone, secure to himself all the blessings of God's kingdom; but all this remains necessarily mediated through these organs and the connection with them—the connection with the Catholic church, derived from Christ, through the succession of bishops.... The Church, once conceived as wholly outward, it must also be conceived

It is plain from this brief survey, that the theory concerning the Church passed, during the first few centuries, through these several stages. The apostles represented it as consisting of true believers; many of the fathers considered it as including all the professors of the true religion, as distinguished from Jews, pagans, and heretics; and then it came to be regarded as consisting of those professors of the true religion who were subject to bishops having succession; and to such society of professors all the attributes, promises, and prerogatives belonging to the true Church were referred. As, however, it was seen that such attributes did not in fact belong to the society of professed believers, some made the distinction between the visible and invisible Church, referring these attributes and promises only to the latter; others endeavoured to make the one identical with the other; and others perverted the nature of these attributes to make them answer to their preconceived conception of the Church.

The third period of the history of the doctrine of the Church bears the same relation to the preceding, that a tree bears to a sapling. The one arose out of the other by a simple process

as having necessary outward unity; and this principle being established, it came next to be thought necessary to settle on some outward representation of this outward unity, at some determinate point. This was at first a thing wholly vague and undefined; but it was the germ from whence sprang the papal monarchy of the middle ages." Vol. i. p. 210.

See also Rothe's *Anfänge*, i. § 64. It was Cyprian, he says, who took the decisive step of asserting that "separation from the empirical catholic Church was, in itself, separation from the fellowship of Christians, and thereby a forfeiture of the benefits of redemption, and of union with Christ; in other words, that the attributes of the Christian Church belong to the empirical or visible Church," p. 636. The exposition which Rothe gives of the gradual development of this theory is the more trustworthy, as he himself holds a doctrine for which he finds no such appropriate expression as the language of the philosophical Romanist, Mæhler. Thus, p. 289, he says, "The central point of the conception of the Catholic Church, is the thought, that in a definite human society, in an essential manner, redemption has become a historical potency, and the Redeemer has attained a real historical existence and efficiency, and no where else; or in the appropriate language of Mæhler (*Symbolik*, s. 334,) that in a definite human society and only therein, the incarnation of the divine Logos is continued and constantly advances." This those conversant with the subject will recognize as the precise idea of the Church, given by a large class of the disciples of Schleiermacher in Germany and in this country. It is one, it seems, which the strictest Romanist can adopt.

of development. After the principle was once established that the outward Church is the true Church, that all the attributes and prerogatives of the mystical body of Christ, belong to the society of his professed disciples, the whole Papal system follows, by a sort of logical necessity. Thus, if the visible Church is one, it must have a visible head; and that head must be the centre of unity; separation from him must be separation from the Church. The bond of union between the several provinces, or states of a kingdom, is not language, customs, laws, but the king. Subjection to him is the essential condition of membership. Whatever regard a man may profess to the laws or to the inhabitants of a kingdom, he does not belong to it unless he recognizes the authority of its head. The same thing is true with regard to the Church. If its unity is external; if it is one as a visible kingdom, it must have one head; and submission to that head must be the essential condition of membership in that kingdom. This is only one step in advance of the doctrine of Cyprian. At first the unity of the Church was made to rest on the indwelling of the Spirit, producing unity of faith and fellowship. Next, it was conceived of as belonging to the external body of professors as distinguished from infidels and heretics. But when orthodox men separated from this external society, Cyprian asserted they were not of the Church. Why not? They had the same faith, the same sacraments, and the same discipline or polity, but they were not subject to legitimate bishops. Soon, however, apostolic bishops separated. What was to be said now? Some other external bond of unity than the episcopate became essential, if the external unity of the Church was to be preserved. For the very same reason, and with quite as much show of right as Cyprian said no man was in the Church who was not subject to a regularly consecrated bishop, did Gregory say, no bishop was in the Church who is not subject to the Pope. The papal monarchy of the middle ages was, therefore, the natural product of Cyprian's theory of the Church.

The second great distinguishing feature of the doctrine concerning the Church, during this period, was the assumed priesthood of the Christian ministry. This also was a necessary deduction from principles already established.

It has been seen how the notion that the attributes of the true Church belong to the visible society, lead to the perverted views of the nature of those attributes. The Church is holy; but the members of the external Church are in many cases corrupt. The holiness of the Church, therefore, was made to consist, not in the purity of its members, but in its power to render holy. But as schismatics were not in the Church, they had not this power. They had, however, the truth, sacraments, and bishops. They had everything but the succession. Hence, in order to exclude them from the Church, and to deny to them the power to render holy, it became necessary to confine this power to bishops having succession. The holiness of the Church, however, in whatever it consists, or wherever it resides, is of course connected with the presence of the Holy Spirit. If that holiness, therefore, consists in the power to make holy, and if that power resides in the bishops having succession, it follows that the Holy Spirit must dwell in them. Hence the doctrine that the Spirit was given to the apostles, and by them to their official successors, the prelates, in whom he dwells, and who, in virtue of that indwelling, have power to confer grace by the imposition of hands. Such grace is conferred in ordination, by which power is conveyed to render the sacraments efficacious. Thus far the theory was wrought out in the preceding period.

This theory inevitably led to the doctrine, that Christian ministers are priests. A priest is a mediator, one who approaches God in behalf of those who have not themselves liberty of access. He is also one who procures remission of sin and acceptance with God for others by means of sacrifices. This is the office assigned to the ministry by the theory above mentioned. The mass of men who hear the gospel, are required, instead of going to God through Christ, in the exercise of penitence and faith each one for himself, to go to the ministers of the church, through whom alone they can find access to Christ. The benefits which these ministers are supposed to obtain are such as none but priests can procure. Those benefits are the remission of sins, and the consequent gift of the grace of God. It is only through the sacraments as administered by them that the merits of Christ are conveyed

to the soul, or the sanctifying influences of his Spirit imparted. One at least of the sacraments must therefore assume the character of a propitiatory sacrifice. The main thing, however, is that the theory which supposes the Holy Spirit to dwell in the bishops, and to be by them communicated in ordination, which ordination is necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, of necessity devolves on the ministry the essential prerogatives of a priesthood. They become the mediators of the people, and through them alone are the remission of sins and the grace of God to be procured. This is not only the logical connection, but the historical relation of these doctrines. The doctrine that ministers are priests did follow in the order of time as well as in the order of logic, the doctrine of the Spirit being given to the clergy in distinction from the people. From this latter doctrine also followed the immense distinction which came to be made between the clergy and the laity. And no wonder. Here was a set of men in whom the Spirit of God dwelt; by whom alone his presence and influence in the world were continued, and through whom alone his benefits could be obtained. Such men might well be looked up to as holy. It became all other men to bow at their feet, and submit to their commands. What were any worldly distinctions compared to these spiritual prerogatives! What would any earthly monarch give comparable to what the poorest priest could grant to the proudest noble! That noble's dependence on his sovereign from whom he held his lands, was nothing compared to his own dependence on his priest, from whom he looked for heaven. This view of the nature of the Church and of the ministry, necessarily led to the domination of the clergy, and gave them a controlling ascendancy in all the concerns of life, civil and religious. If ministers are priests—if access to Christ, the remission of sins, and the grace of God can only be obtained through them, they are our legitimate and absolute masters.

The third characteristic of this period was the full development of the doctrine of the Church as an infallible teacher. It is plain from the New Testament that Christ did commission his Church to teach all nations; that he promised to her his presence and assistance in the discharge of this duty; that he declared his purpose to sanction in heaven what his Church

taught on earth; and assured his disciples that he would give the Holy Spirit to guide them into the knowledge of the truth, and to give effect to their instructions. It is universally conceded that the prerogative and ability of the Church to teach, depend upon the presence of the Holy Spirit. It is only so far as she is the organ of the Holy Ghost that her teaching is the teaching of Christ, or that obedience to her is obedience to him.

This being the case, the prerogative in question must belong to the body of Christ, in whom he dwells by his Spirit, whose minds he enlightens, and whose lives he governs. It is the communion of saints, the body of true Christians, which he has set as the light of the world, a pillar of cloud and of fire for the guidance of all the generations of men. But as soon as the doctrine was established, that the Holy Ghost is the peculium of the bishops, then, of course, this prerogative of teaching was claimed as their peculiar right. It belongs to them, not in virtue of their character, but of their office. It is not because they are united to Christ, and the subjects of spiritual illumination, but simply because they are the regular successors of the apostles, that they are the organs of the Spirit. They may be personally heretical or infidel; they may be unholy in heart and life, they are none the less the men whom Christ has promised to guide in teaching, and whose instructions all the faithful are bound, on the peril of salvation, to receive and obey. This is the obvious, the unavoidable, and the actual sequence of the doctrine that the bishops are the successors of the apostles, and the class to whom the command to teach and the promise of the Holy Ghost were given.

Not only does the theory of the Church under consideration, depart from Scripture, in making the bishops, instead of the true people of God, the subjects of the promised guidance of the Spirit, but it perverts the nature of that guidance. What Christ promised is spiritual illumination. He promised to send his Spirit to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; to make men sensible of their just exposure to condemnation; to reveal to them his glory, so as to satisfy them of his righteousness in claiming to be the Son of God and the only Saviour of the world, and to convince them of the

certain overthrow and final destruction of Satan and his kingdom. Flesh and blood were not to reveal those things unto believers. They were to be taught of God; they were to have an unction from the Holy One, which should teach them the truth, and that no lie is of the truth. This, however, was no more a promise of infallibility than the promise of grace was a promise of perfection, or the assurance of consolation was a guaranty of perfect blessedness. All that the promise of divine teaching secured was saving knowledge of the truth, and perseverance in its belief and profession. In this sense, and to this extent, the Spirit guides all believers into the knowledge of the truth, so that dissent from them (of course as to what they have thus been taught of God) is dissent from God himself. But this by no means satisfied the advocates of the Romish theory of the Church. Divine illumination of all believers is not what that theory demands, but infallibility in the teachers of the visible Church. If separation from the bishops was separation from the source of holiness, it was no less a separation from the source of truth. If the Spirit dwells in them so as to render them the source of the sanctifying power of the sacraments, it must render them also the sure instructors of the Church in matters of faith. The Church is designed to preserve the doctrines of Christianity, and to extend its saving influence. For this end the Holy Ghost is granted to the bishops to render them infallible as teachers, as well as effective as regenerators. Separation from them, therefore, is at once separation from the truth and saving power of the gospel.

The bishops of any one age therefore cannot err in matters of faith. Their teaching is for the existing generation the teaching of God. Of course, the bishops of a preceding age were alike infallible; and so of every age up to the times of the apostles. It is this teaching of the successive generations of bishops which constitutes tradition, which in the language of the council of Trent, is to be received *pari pietate*, as of equal authority with the written word of God.

This completes the theory. The Church is an external kingdom, having a visible head, who is the centre of unity. Separation from him is, of necessity, separation from the

Church. When Christ left the world, he constituted this Church his representative. It is only therein that he is accessible and operative here on earth. To the Church are entrusted his prerogatives as prophet, priest, and king. She has absolute authority, infallible knowledge, and the priestly power of mediation and atonement. All these powers centre in the bishops, who rule, teach, and impart the Holy Spirit to all who are in the Church. Disobedience to them is rebellion against Christ; dissent from their teaching is heresy; separation from them is schism, a crime more certainly deadly than murder. The apostles were a set of inspired men, invested with plenary power over the Church, infallible as teachers, and having the sole power to communicate the Holy Ghost. Peter was their head and the bond of union between them. This is the form Christ gave his Church, and without which it cannot exist. There is still a body of infallible teachers invested with plenary power as rulers and priests, and there is still a supreme bishop to give unity to the whole. This is the simple, the logical, and sublime theory of the Church, gradually elaborated after the days of Cyprian, and which has had such a powerful and enduring hold upon the minds of men.

Against this system the Reformation was a protest. The Reformers protested, first, against the fundamental error of the whole theory, viz: That the visible Church is in such a sense the true Church; that the attributes, promises, and prerogatives pertaining to the latter belong to the former. In opposition to this doctrine, they maintained that the Church consists of true believers; that it is a company of faithful men, a communion of saints, to which no man belongs who is not a true child of God. Secondly, they, of course, protested against the supremacy of the Pope, denying that the unity of the Church was that of a visible monarchy. Thirdly, they protested against the doctrine that the Spirit is promised to the bishops to render them infallible as teachers, and make their instructions as handed down by tradition a constituent part of the rule of faith and practice. Fourthly, they protested against the doctrine that ministers are priests, through whom alone men can obtain either pardon or grace. They maintained, on the contrary, that Christ having washed us from our sins in his

own blood, hath made us all priests, because, through him we all have access, by one Spirit, unto the Father. This is the essential character of the protest entered by all the Churches of the Reformation. In proof of this it will be sufficient to advert briefly to the teachings of those Churches, in their sym-bolical books, as to the nature of the Church.

The Lutheran Church was the eldest daughter of the Reform-ation, and on this subject her standards are very explicit. Aug. Con. § vii. "The Church is a congregation of saints, in which the gospel is properly taught, and the sacraments rightly administered. And to the true unity of the Church, agree-ment in the doctrine of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments is sufficient." § viii. "Although the Church is properly a congregation of saints and of true believers, yet, as in this life many hypocrites and wicked persons are included, it is lawful to use the sacraments administered by wicked men."*

The fourth head of the apology of the Augsburg Confession is a defence of the definition of the Church as the congregation of saints. After saying and proving that it was so defined in Scripture, it refers to the language of the creed, "which re-quires us to believe that there is a holy catholic church." But the wicked are not the Church. And the next clause, "commu-nion of saints," is added to explain what the Church is, viz: "the congregation of saints, having fellowship in the same gos-pel or doctrine, and in the same Holy Spirit, who renews, sanc-tifies, and governs their hearts."

Again: "Although, therefore, hypocrites and evil men are connected with the Church by external rites, yet when the Church is defined, it is necessary to describe it as the true body of Christ, that which is in name and reality the Church." "If the Church, which is the true kingdom of Christ, is dis-tinguished from the kingdom of the devil, it is clear that the wicked, who are in the kingdom of the devil, are not the Church,

* Hase's *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ*. Est autem ecclesia congre-gatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacra-menta. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiæ satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum.

Quamquam ecclesia proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium, tamen cum in hac vita multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis, quæ per malos administrantur. p. 11.

although in this life, since the kingdom of Christ is not revealed, they are mixed with the Church, and bear office therein."*

"The creed speaks of the Church as catholic, that we may not conceive of it as an external polity of a certain nation, but as consisting of men scattered throughout the world, who agree in doctrine, and have the same Christ, the same Holy Spirit, whether they have the same human traditions or not."†

The Lutheran theologians, with one accord, adhere to this doctrine concerning the Church. By Calovius it is defined as "cœtus fidelium, qui sub uno capite Christo per verbum et sacramenta collectus alitur et conservatur per eadem ad æternam salutem." Hollazius says the Church is regarded, 1, in its true nature, as the company of saints united to Christ their head by faith, and constituting his one mystical and living body; 2, improperly for all those professing the true faith, believers and hypocrites. The former is the Church invisible, and the latter the visible Church.‡ Gerhard says to the same effect, "Our view of the nature of the Church is clearly exhibited in the Augsburg Confession, viz: that the Church, pro-

* Sic definit ecclesiam et articulus in Symbolo, qui jubet nos credere, quod sit sancta catholica ecclesia. Impii vero non sunt sancta ecclesia. Et videtur additum, quod sequitur, sanctorum communio, ut exponeretur, quid significet ecclesia, nempe congregationem sanctorum, qui habent inter se societatem ejusdem evangelii, seu doctrinæ, et ejusdem Spiritus Sancti, qui corda eorum renovat, sanctificat et gubernat. *Ibid.* p. 145.

† Catholicam Ecclesiam dicit [Symb. App.,] ne intelligamus, ecclesiam esse politiam externam certarum gentium, sed magis homines sparsos per totum orbem, qui de evangelio consentiunt, et habent eundem Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, et eadem sacramenta, sive habeant easdem traditiones humanas, sive dissimiles. Et in hanc sententiam multa leguntur apud patres. Hieronymus enim ait: Qui ergo peccator est aliqua sorde maculatus, de ecclesia Christi non potest appellari, nec Christo subiectus dici. *Ibid.* 156. See also Articuli Smalcaldici xii. De Ecclesia. Nequaquam largimur ipsis, quod sint ecclesia, quia revera non sunt ecclesia; non etiam audiemus ea, quæ nomine ecclesiæ vel mandant, vel vetant. Nam (Deo sit gratia) puer septem annorum novit hodie, quid sit ecclesia, nempe credentes, sancti, oviкулæ audientes vocem pastoris sui. Sic enim orant pueri: Credo sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam sive Christianam. Hæc sanctitas non consistit in amiculo linteo, insigni verticali, veste talari, et aliis ipsorum ceremoniis, contra sacram scripturam excogitatis, sed in verbo Dei et vera fide.

‡ Hase's *Hutterus Redivivus*, p. 316.

perly speaking, is the congregation of saints and true believers, with which, however, in this life many hypocrites and unrenewed men are externally united." *

The Reformed Church in this matter agrees perfectly with the Lutheran. Indeed as this was a subject of constant controversy between Protestants and Romanists, it seems hardly worth while to appeal to any particular assertions. Bellarmine sets it forth as the doctrine of all Protestants "that only the just and pious pertain to the true Church." "If," he adds, "those destitute of inward faith neither are nor can be in the Church, there is an end of all dispute between us and heretics as to the visibility of the Church."† The Lutherans, he says, define the Church to be "the congregation of saints who truly believe and obey God," and the Reformed, as consisting of believers predestinated to eternal life. A distinction, in this case, without a difference. In opposition to the views of both classes of Protestants, he asserts the Church to consist of all the professors of the true faith, whether sincere or insincere, who are united in the participation of the same sacraments, and subjection to the same pastors, and especially to the Pope, as vicar of Christ.

We find the doctrine of the Reformed Churches clearly stated in all their confessions of faith. In the Second Helvetic Confession, the seventeenth chapter is devoted to the exposition of this subject. The Church is declared to be "a company of believers, called out from the world, or collected, i. e., a communion of saints, who, through the word and Spirit, truly acknowledge and rightly worship the true God, in Christ the Saviour, and who, through faith, participate in all the benefits freely offered through Christ." "It is of them that the article in the creed, 'I believe in the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints,' is to be understood." . . . "All who are numbered in the Church are not saints, or true living members

* *Loci Theologici*, tom. xi. p. 159.

† The Protestants, he says, teach "*solos justos et pios ad ecclesiam veram pertinere. . . . Si ii, qui fide interna carent, non sunt, nec esse possunt in ecclesia, nulla erit inter nos et hæreticos, amplius quæstio de ecclesiæ visibilitate. Disputationes de Ecclesia. lib. iii. c. x. col. 139.*"

of the Church." . . . "Such, though they simulate piety, are not of the Church."*

In the *Belgic Confession*, art. 27, it is said, "We believe one catholic or universal Church, which is the congregation of saints, or company of true believers, who look for their entire salvation in Christ alone, being washed by his blood, sanctified and sealed by his Spirit." Art. 29. "We do not here speak of the company of hypocrites, who, although they may be mixed with the good in the Church, are not of it, though (corpore) externally they are in it."†

In the *Geneva Catechism*, it is asked, "What is the Church? Answer—The society of believers whom God hath predestinated to eternal life."‡

In the *Gallican Confession*, the 27th article contains these words: "We affirm that the Church is the company of believers, who agree in following the word of God, and in the exercise of true religion," &c.§

In the *Heidelberg Catechism* the question: "What believest thou concerning the Holy Catholic Church of Christ?" is answered, "I believe that the Son of God, from the beginning

* *Oportet omnino semper fuisse, nunc esse, et ad finem usque seculi futuram esse Ecclesiam, id est, e mundo evocatum vel collectum cœtum fidelium, sanctorum inquam omnium communionem, eorum videlicet, qui Deum verum, in Christo servatore, per verbum et Spiritum sanctum, vere cognoscunt et rite colunt, denique omnibus bonis per Christum gratuito oblati fide participant. . . . De quibus omnino intelligendus est Symboli articulus, Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem.*

Rursus non omnes qui numerantur in ecclesia, sancti et viva atque vera sunt ecclesiæ membra. Sunt enim hypocritæ multi, qui foris verbum Dei audiunt, et sacramenta palam percipiunt . . . sed intus vera Spiritus illuminatione, et fide animique sinceritate, et finali perseverantia destituuntur. . . . Dum hi simulant pietatem, licet ex ecclesia non sint, numerantur tamen in ecclesia. Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum*, pp. 499 and 504.

† *Conf. Belg.* art. 27. Credimus unicam ecclesiam catholicam seu universalem, quæ est congregatio sancta seu cœtus omnium vere fidelium christianorum, qui totam suam salutem in uno Jesu Christo expectant, sanguine ipsius abluti et per Spiritum ejus sanctificati atque obsignati. Art. 29. Nequaquam hic de hypocritarum cœtu loquimur, qui quanquam bonis in ecclesia permixti sint, de ecclesia non sunt, etiamsi corpore in ea sint.

‡ *Quid est Ecclesia?*

Corpus ac Societas fidelium, quos Deus ad vitam æternam prædestinavit.

§ *Conf. Gall.* art. xxvii. Affirmamus ex Dei verbo, ecclesiam esse fidelium, cœtum, qui in verbo Dei sequendo, et pura religione colenda consentiunt. . . .

to the end of the world, from the whole human family collects, defends and preserves for himself by his word and Spirit, a company chosen unto eternal life, and that I am and always will remain a living member of that Church.”*

The standards of the Church of England teach the same doctrine. The Church is declared to be a “company of faithful men;” or as in the communion service, “the blessed company of faithful people.” This definition is expanded in the homily for Whit-Sunday: “The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God’s faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.” Bishop Ridley, with whom agree all the other English reformers, says: “That Church which is Christ’s body, and of which he is the head, standeth only of living stones and true Christians, not only in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth.”† Hooker says: “Because the only object which separateth ours from other religions is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe, and whom none but the Church doth worship; we find that, accordingly, the apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and from Jews, ‘accounting them which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his Church.’ If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either in deed, or in men’s opinions or councils.”‡

Dr. Jackson, another of the lights of the Church of England, says: “The Catholic Church, in the prime sense, consists only of such men as are actual and indissoluble members of Christ’s mystical body, or of such as have the Catholic faith not only

* *Quid credis de sancta et Catholica Christi ecclesia? Credo Filium Dei, ab initio mundi ad finem usque, tibi, ex universo genere humano, cœtum ad vitam æternam electum, per Spiritum suum et verbum, in vera fide consentientem, colligere, tueri, ac servare: meque vivum ejus cœtus membrum esse, et perpetuo mansurum.*

† Ridley’s Works. Parker’s Society edition, p. 126.

‡ Ecclesiastical Polity, book v. § 68. See also the opening of the third book, where a full exposition is given of the Protestant, or evangelical theory of the Church.

sown in their brains or understanding.”* Again, “Unto the attributes or prerogatives bestowed on the Church in the Apostles’, or Nicene creed, or unto the promises annexed unto it in the Scriptures, the visible Church, as we say, taken in the Roman sense, hath no claim or title, save only in reversion and by reflection; that is, the true mystical body of Christ is only instated in the blessings, prerogatives, or promises made unto the Church,” p. 34. Dr. Jackson’s book is devoted to the proof of that point. According to him and to the Protestant faith, it is the company of true believers, the communion of saints, and no external organized society, which is one, holy, catholic, and apostolical; to which the prerogatives of teaching and discipline, or power of the keys belong, and which Christ has promised to guide, keep, and save.

That this is the common doctrine of Protestants the above extracts are sufficient to prove, were any one disposed to question a fact so notorious. Winer, in his comparative view of the doctrines of the various Christian churches, says: “The Catholics make the Church the community which Christ has founded upon earth, consisting of those baptized in his name and united under the Pope as his vicar and visible head of the Church. Protestants, on the contrary, make the Church the communion of saints; that is, of the pious who truly believe in Christ, and among whom the gospel is purely preached, and the sacraments properly administered. The latter conceive of the Church according to inward or spiritual marks, ideally, and exclude from it those destitute of piety; the former, on the other hand, regard the Church as something outwardly existing, whose members are divided into two classes, the good and the bad. The bond, which, according to the Protestant doctrine, unites the members of the Church together, is living faith or true piety; according to the Romish doctrine, it is the confession made in baptism.”† Romanists are obliged to repre-

* Treatise of the Holy Catholic Faith and Church, Philadelphia edition, p. 152.

† Die Katholiken nennen Kirche Christi die von Christus auf erden gegründete, unter seinem stellvertreter, dem Papste, als sichtbarem Oberhaupte, vereinigte Gemeinschaft der auf Christus getauften; die Protestanten dagegen die Gemeinschaft der Heiligen, d. h. der an Christum wahrhaft glaubenden Frommen, in welcher das Evangelium lauter verkündigt und die sacramente recht verwaltet

sent the Church as a visible society, if they would prove the Church of Rome, as it actually exists, to be identical with the Church of Christ; and Protestantism destroys itself, if it acknowledges the Church of Christ, in its essential nature, to be an external institution.”*

The history of the doctrine of the Church, even as imperfectly sketched above, serves to confirm the true view of its nature. Almost all the great practical doctrines of the gospel, after having been presented in their purity by the apostles, were gradually deteriorated until they came to be almost entirely perverted; and then, by the interposition of God, they were rescued from the load of corruption under which they were buried, and exhibited anew in their original brightness. During the whole period of declension, however, these doctrines never ceased to be recognized. They were not only distinctly apprehended and openly avowed, by here and there a chosen witness, but they underlay the religious experience of thousands, who never framed them into doctrinal propositions; and they gave form and character to the very corruptions of which they were the subjects. These corruptions were not so much errors entirely foreign to the gospel, as perverted forms of truth. A leper is still a man; and the lineaments of the human form may be traced under all the disfiguring effects of disease. So the truth is always to be discerned under the grossest corruptions to which it has been subject. When the Church of the middle ages taught that there could be no regeneration or holiness but by means of certain rites, this was not a denial of the necessity of grace, but a false view of the mode and conditions of the Spirit's operations. When it was taught that pil-

werden. Letztere fassen also die Kirche nach inneren (geistigen) merkmalen in idealem sinne, und schliessen von ihr die Unfrommen aus; crsteren dagegen ist die Kirche etwas sinnlich Existerendes, und ihre Glieder theilen sich in Fromme und Unfromme. Das Band, welches die Mitglieder der Kirche als solche zusammenhält, ist somit nach Protestanten, Lehrbegriffe der lebendige glaube (die Christliche Frömmigkeit,) nach Katholiken das auf die Taufe gegründete äusserliche Bekenntniss. Darstellung, s. 166.

* Als äusserliche, sichtbare Gemeinschaft muss der Catholicismus die Kirche betrachten, wenn er die Römische Kirche in ihrem empirischem Bestehen als identisch mit der Kirche Christi erweisen will; so wie der Protestantismus sich selbst vernichtete, wenn er die Kirche Christi ihrem wesen nach als äusserliche Anstalt anerkennen wollte. *Ibid.*

grimaces and penances obtained the pardon of sins, it was still asserted that they were the means of securing an interest in the merits of Christ, to whom all their efficacy was referred. When the priest interposed himself between the sinner and God, it was not that he dared to deny the priesthood of Christ, but that he assumed that Christ's priesthood was exercised through the Church. Behind these fearful corruptions, therefore, which hid the truth from the view of the people, were still to be discerned the great doctrines of the Bible. As this is true with regard to other points, it is no less true with regard to the doctrine of the Church. All the corruptions of that doctrine, great and destructive as they have proved, are but perversions of the truth. They are all deformed exhibitions of the idea that the Church is the communion of saints, composed of the true people of God, so that none are his people who are out of its pale, and that all within it are his children. This doctrine is not only openly asserted by witnesses of the truth in all ages, but it evidently lies at the foundation of the whole Romish or hierarchical theory. Those who deny, are still forced to teach the truth. Their very error is but truth defaced.

In proof of this it will be sufficient to advert to the following particulars. 1. Ritualists always speak of the Church as holy. Its members are addressed as "the faithful." They are described as believers, as the children of God, the disciples of Christ. No pastoral letter, no prelatial charge, no papal missive, assumes any other language in addressing the members of the Church. It is instinctively taken for granted that the Church consists of believers, and therefore all within its pale are addressed as such. This could not be, if the Church were a visible society, consisting of all sorts of persons. It is simply because in its true and essential character it is a communion of saints, that all its members are addressed as saints. They profess faith and piety in professing to be members of the Church.

2. In all ages of the Church, and in all parts of the world, in the times of the apostles, before the rise of the papacy, and since the establishment of the Pope's dominion, the profession of repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ,

has ever been made the condition of admission into the Church. Men have differed as to the nature of faith and repentance; they have had conflicting views as to what is Christianity, but they have agreed in demanding a profession of Christianity of those whom they admit as members of the Christian Church. This demand, however, proceeds on the assumption that the Church consists of Christians. Why else must a man profess to be a Christian, in order to his admission among its members?

3. The liturgies of all churches are constructed on the true theory of the nature of the Church. They all assume that to be a member of the Church is to be a true Christian and an heir of salvation, and that to be out of the Church is to be in a state of alienation from God. Even infants dying unbaptized are denied Christian burial. Baptism is regarded as uniting them to the Church, and hence it is assumed to confer regeneration, justification, and a title to eternal life. All who continue in the communion of the Church, do, in the prayers and offices in which they engage, use the language of Christians. The Church puts into their mouths the confessions, and professions, which none but the true children of God can use with sincerity; and when they die, they are committed to the grave as Christians, in the sure hope of a blessed resurrection. Those separated from the Church by excommunication or schism, are treated as out of the state of salvation. Reconciliation to the Church is, in all these prescribed formularies, represented as involving reconciliation to God. It is vain, therefore, for Ritualists to deny the Protestant doctrine of the Church. Their own liturgies condemn them. The Church, in all her solemn services, assumes to be just what Protestants declare her to be, a company of believers, a communion of saints, and not a promiscuous assembly of believers and unbelievers, of children of God and children of Satan.

After this evidence, derived from the general consciousness of the Church, it is hardly worth while to refer to the testimony of individuals. It is, however, of interest to remark, that although a false theory may, under the stress of inward and outward influences, be adopted as a theory, the truth still extorts an unwilling testimony even from its opponents. We have

seen how Cyprian and Augustin were induced, as the only available argument against the schismatics of their day, to make the external Church the possessor of the attributes and prerogatives of the body of Christ; and yet both those fathers frequently avowed the opposite doctrine.* So in every age, wherever there is any evidence of spiritual religion, there is evidence of a conviction that the promiscuous body of nominal Christians, is not that Church of which so much is said, and to which so much is promised in the word of God. All the forerunners of the Reformation were the advocates of the true doctrine concerning the Church. And the most determined Romanists are forced to make admissions fatal to the whole Ritual theory. Even the Romish Catechism says, the relation of the wicked to the Church is that of the chaff to the wheat.† Every definition of the Church, however, is a definition of the wheat. Our whole controversy with Romanists is, that they insist on ascribing the attributes of the wheat indiscriminately and equally to the wheat and the chaff.

The Protestant doctrine on this subject can hardly be stated with greater precision than in the *Enchiridion of Christian Instruction*, published by the Romish Provincial Synod of Cologne. "The Church militant," it is there said, "is to be considered in a twofold light: in the first place strictly; as when we say those are in the Church, who are so in the house of God, that they themselves are the house of God, or temple of the Holy Spirit, who constitute the new Jerusalem descending out of heaven, prepared of God, constructed of living stones, concerning whom the apostle says: We being many

*Cyprian Epist. 55. Domine, ad quem ibimus? verba vitæ æternæ habes, et nos credimus et cognovimus, quoniam tu es Filius Dei vivi, significans scilicet et ostendens eos qui a Christo recesserint, culpa sua perire; ecclesiam tamen quæ in Christum credat, et quæ semel id quod cognoverat teneat, nunquam ab eo discedere, et eos esse ecclesiam, qui in domo Dei permanent; plantationem vero plantatam a Deo Patre non esse, quos videmus non frumenti stabilitate solidari, sed tanquam paleas dissipantis inimici spiritu ventilari.

† Catechismus Romanus. Quamvis autem bonos et malos ad ecclesiam pertinere catholica fides vere et constanter affirmet, ex iisdem fidei regulis fidelibus explicandum est, utriusque partis diversam admodum rationem esse; ut enim palæ cum frumento in area confusæ sunt, vel interdum membra varie intermixta corpori conjuncta, ita etiam mali in ecclesia continentur. Ch. x. Qu. 7.

are one body in Christ Jesus; whom, in another place, he calls a people cleansed from all iniquity, acceptable to God, zealous of good works. The Church, thus considered, is known only unto God, as the apostle says: The Lord knoweth them that are his.* The doctrine of this passage is, that true believers constitute the Church. It is of them the body of Christ, to which the attributes of the Church belong, consists. This is all that Protestants contended for.

Hofmeister, a Romish theologian, admits that Melancthon's doctrine that "the Church properly and primarily signifies the congregation of the righteous who truly believe in Christ and are sanctified by his Spirit," is undoubtedly orthodox.†

Mr. Palmer says: "It is generally allowed that the wicked belong only externally to the Church."‡ Again: "That the ungodly, whether secret or manifest, do not really belong to the Church, considered as to its invisible character—namely, as consisting of its essential and permanent members, the elect, predestinate, and sanctified, who are known unto God only, I admit."§

Möehler, the most philosophical of the modern advocates of Romanism, endeavours to unite with the Romish theory the entirely incongruous element of an invisible, as distinguished from the visible, Church. The former consists of true believers, and is after all the true Church. It by no means follows, he says, because a man professes the true faith, that he is "absolutely a member of the true Church." "The Catholics hold that besides the true visible Church, there is a true invisible Church, and that a man may be excluded from the latter, while he is included in the former." It is of the members of this invisible Church, he says: "It is not to be doubted that Christ

* Enchirid. Christian. Institut. fol. 65, quoted by Dr. Jackson in his Treatise on the Church, p. 51.

† Quoted by Gerhard, Loci Theolog. tom. xi. p. 59.

‡ Treatise on the Church, vol. i. p. 28. He refers in a note to Field on the Church, b. 1. chap. 7-8., and adds, "The Romish Theologians generally concur in the same doctrine. Tournely says, Solos electos ac justos ad nobiliorem ecclesiæ partem, quæ anima ipsius dicitur et in virtutibus consistit, reprobos vero et malos ad illius dumtaxat corpus, hoc est externam fidei professionem ac eorundem sacramentorum participationem pertinere. De Eccl. qu. 1. art. 2."

§ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 143.

maintains his Church in vigour by means of those who live by faith in him, who belong to him in spirit and heart, and who long for his appearing. It is not to be doubted these are the bearers of his truth, and that without them it would certainly be forgotten or corrupted, or merged into empty formalism. It is assuredly these, the members of the invisible Church, who have been transformed into the image of Christ, who are the supporters of the visible Church. The wicked in the Church, the unbelieving formalists, dead members on the body of Christ, could not for a day sustain the Church even in its outward form.”*

The true doctrine concerning the Church, may, therefore, be fairly said to have universal consent in its favour. It has forced itself on the recognition even of its opponents. It can be traced through all ages, and is visible under all the corruptions to which it has been subjected. It has been distinctly avowed by all the witnesses of the truth, and unwillingly or unconsciously admitted by those most interested in denying it. The very pretensions and usurpations of the visible Church, are founded on the assumption that the true Church is the communion of saints, the body of Christ, animated by his Spirit. Such, therefore, is its true nature; and this is the point in which all the controversies between Romanists and Protestants meet, and in which they find their true solution.

Recapitulation.—That body to which the attributes, promises,

* Auch ist nicht zu zweifeln, dass Christus seine Kirche mittels Derjenigen in siegreichen Kraft erhält, die in seinen glauben leben, ihm mit geist und sinn angehören, und seiner wiederkunft sich erfreuen; es ist nicht zu zweifeln, dass diese die Träger seiner Wahrheit sind, und dass ohne sie dieselbe zuverlässig vergessen, in lauter Irrthum übergehen, oder in hohles, leeres Formelwesen sich verwandeln würde. Ia gewiss Diese, die Unsichtbaren, die in das Bild Christi Uebergangenen und Vergöttlichten sind die Träger der sichtbaren Kirche; die Bösen in der Kirche, die Ungläubigen, die Scheinheiligen, todte Glieder am Leibe Christi würden keinen Tag die Kirche, selbst in ihrer Aeusserlichkeit zu bewahren vermögen. “Symbolik, oder Darstellung der dogmatischen gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten.” Sixth edition, p. 425.

“Various as are the oppositions and distinctions, by which these separating principle of the Reformation may be characterized, it is really the doctrine concerning the essence of the Church where the difference is concentrated, where the one party must affirm what the other must deny; and whence alone all other points of difference can be understood in their true import.—Baur’s *Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus*, p. 537.

and prerogatives of the Church belong, is not a visible organized society, but the communion of saints, the blessed company of faithful people, scattered abroad through the earth. This is proved, 1. From the constant use of the word *church* in the New Testament. According to the Scriptures, all mankind are in a estate of sin and misery. To redeem them from that condition, God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. By his word and Spirit he calls men to repent of their sins, and to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Those who obey this vocation (*κλησις*) are "the called;" (*οἱ κλητοί, οἱ ἐκλεκτοί*) a people called out of the world, distinguished from Jews, Pagans, and all others who do not obey this heavenly vocation. They constitute the Church. In its Christian, or religious sense, the word *Church*, always in Scripture designates the called collectively considered; either the whole number of them in heaven and on earth, or all on earth considered as a whole, or all in a particular city, or even in a family. It is not disputed that the *ἐκκλησία* consists of the *κλητοί*, and it cannot be disputed that the *κλητοί* are those who obey the call to repentance and faith. The Church, therefore, consists of penitent believers.

2. Hence every body of men addressed in Scripture as a Church, are called believers, saints, the sanctified in Christ Jesus, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling. They are the children of God, the faithful in Christ Jesus. The fact that any man is in the Church is a sufficient reason, in the view of the sacred writers, for addressing him as a believer. It is true many profess to be believers, who have not faith; and it is equally true that many profess to be members of the Church, who are not its members. But it is nevertheless plain that in professing to be a member of the Church, a man does profess to be a believer, and therefore the Church consists of believers. That is its idea. That the faith assumed to exist in all who constitute the Church, is not mere speculative assent; and that the sonship attributed to its members, is not an external adoption, is evident, because all who are addressed as believers and the sons of God, are also addressed as in fellowship with Christ, and partakers of his Spirit. They

are said to be washed, sanctified, and justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. The wicked are called the Church, or are said to be included in it, in no other sense, and on no other grounds, than that they are called saints, and are said to be the children of God and partakers of eternal life. They are denominated according to their profession, and not their real character.

3. All the descriptions given of the Church in the Bible, suppose it to consist of true believers, for to no others are those descriptions applicable. No others stand in the relation to Christ which the Church is said to sustain to him. The Church is his body; it is a partaker of his life, animated by his Spirit, and indissolubly associated with him in suffering and in glory. This is true of none but sincere believers. The Church is the temple of God; none but those in whom God dwells by his Spirit, can constitute that temple. Wherever the Spirit of God dwells there is knowledge, holiness, and peace. The ignorant, the unholy, and the despairing or slavish, are therefore not his temple. The Church is the family of God; it is composed of his children. But none are the children of God but those who have the Spirit of adoption, who love, reverence, trust, and obey their heavenly Father, and therefore none others belong to the Church which is his family. The Church is the flock of Christ; it consists of his sheep, who hear his voice, who follow his steps, and confide in his protection. The Church is the bride of Christ, it consists of those who love him and devote themselves to his service; of those whom he loves, and for whom he gave himself that he might sanctify and cleanse them, and present them to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. Such descriptions can be applied to none but true believers, and therefore such believers constitute the Church of which the Scriptures thus speak.

4. The attributes which belong to the Church can be predicated of none but true believers, and therefore they must constitute the Church. The Church is holy; it is a communion of saints. Hypocrites and unbelievers are not holy, and consequently are not members of that holy communion. The holiness attributed to the Church in Scripture, includes inward

purity and outward consecration to God. In neither of these senses can holiness be predicated of any who are not true believers. None others are renewed after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness; and none others are really consecrated to his service. The men of the world are devoted to the world; they do not belong to the peculiar people whom God has called out of the world and set apart for himself.

None but true believers have that unity of faith which belongs to the Church, and which is the effect of the teaching of the divine Spirit. No others are united in those bonds of love and fellowship, with which the Spirit of God binds together the members of Christ's body. None others have that sympathy with their Head and with their fellow members which invariably and necessarily follows from union with Christ. This communion of saints is the holy, catholic Church: all within its pale are saved, and all beyond it perish. It includes all the holy, all who are in Christ, all true believers, wherever they may be found, of every name or denomination. To this mystical body of Christ alone belongs that perpetuity which is an attribute of the Church. This is the Church which is apostolical, or historically one. It is one and the same Church which the apostles founded. It traces up its descent to Christ, the Head, without a breach or flaw. It has never ceased to be. It has never ceased to be holy and to be orthodox. Though often dispersed and hidden from the sight of men, it has continued in the sight of God, who has ever reserved to himself a company that never bowed the knee unto Baal. Every external Church has lapsed from faith and purity. But the true Church lives on, in mystic union with its Head, receiving and giving life, from age to age.

5. The promises made to the Church have never been, and, according to the Scriptures, never can be fulfilled to any other class of persons than true believers. Therefore, the Church must consist of such believers. Christ has promised to be with his Church to the end of the world, to guide it by his Spirit into the belief and obedience of the truth; to guard it from all the assaults of Satan, preserving it from inward corruption and outward apostacy; thus keeping it by his mighty power, through faith, unto eternal life. To all the members of

his body, he gives these assurances of instruction, sanctification, and salvation. If the Church therefore is an external society, of which all professors of the true religion are members, irrespective of their character, then all such professors must not only be saved, but they must be assumed, contrary to the fact, to be holy and orthodox.

As our Lord has promised to be ever present with his Church, guiding her by his Spirit into the knowledge of his truth, and making her his organ in the instruction of the nations, he has also promised to authenticate her doctrines, and to ratify her decisions. The teaching of the true people of God, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is the teaching of Christ. Those in communion with them, are in communion with God; and they who have no fellowship with the saints, have no fellowship with Christ. The teaching of no external society, however, is the teaching of Christ, nor does communion with any such society imply communion with God. Therefore no such society can be the Church.

6. The Church, as is conceded, consists of those who are in Christ. Whatever, therefore, is the condition of union with Christ, is the condition of membership in the Church. It is one of the plainest of all the doctrines of the Bible, that faith is the bond of union with Christ in such sense, that no unbeliever is united to him, and that all who have faith are the members of his body. Consequently if the Church consists of those who are in Christ, it consists of true believers. If Christ, by his once offering up of himself, has purged away our sins, and opened for us free access unto God; if every man, in any part of the world, who hears the gospel, is authorized at once to draw near to God, with full assurance of pardon, sanctification, and eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, then must the Church embrace all such true believers. Nothing can be necessary to union with the body, but union with the head. We need no other priest than Christ to bring us near to God. We need no other mediator or advocate. Our access to the Father and to the merits of the Redeemer, is not suspended on the ministrations of any human priesthood; but we all have access, through Christ, by one Spirit, unto God. None, therefore, can be excluded from the Church, who by faith is united to Christ and reconciled to God; and faith

being essential to union with Christ, it is essential to membership in the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.

7. This has really been the faith of God's people in all ages. This view of the nature of the Church is clearly presented in the Scriptures; it was retained uncorrupted for a while, and when a different view was gradually introduced and established, the true doctrine was still not only often asserted and defended, but was unavoidably and unconsciously admitted by those who most strenuously denied it. That the Church consists of true believers is conceded by the Church demanding the profession of faith and repentance from all those whom she admits to membership. It is conceded by her always addressing her members as believers. It is implied in all her services for the living and over the dead, that those within her pale are the children of God and fellow heirs with Jesus Christ, and all out of her communion are without God and without hope in the world. By the whole Church, as of necessity, the avowal is made in every age and in every language, that the Church is the communion of saints, the blessed company of faithful people. This doctrine is holy and healthful. It tends to promote holiness and brotherly love. It is the palladium of civil and religious liberty. It elevates the people from thralldom to the priesthood, by teaching that Christ has made us all kings and priests unto God. As this doctrine demands true faith, sincere repentance, and holy living, as the conditions of membership in the Church, and denies the possibility of the impenitent and unbelieving being members of Christ's body, it has always been asserted when the Church was pure, and overlooked or denied when the Church became corrupt.

If, on the other hand, the Church is an external society, and profession and submission are the conditions of membership, then it follows: 1. That all the members of this society will be saved. 2. That all out of its communion must perish.

But as salvation supposes faith, holiness, and the forgiveness of sin, it follows that this society must possess exclusively the truth, the means of purification, and the power to forgive sins. This supposes: 1. That the Church is infallible. 2. That her sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*. 3. That her officers can absolve from sin.

These attributes and prerogatives of this external body, presuppose: 1. That the Holy Spirit dwells in the bishops in virtue of their office and succession, guiding them into all truth. 2. That the gift of the Spirit is conveyed by the imposition of their hands, and that by "the grace of orders" thus imparted, the sacraments are rendered efficacious as channels of grace, and power is given to forgive sin. 3. That Christian ministers are truly priests, the mediators of the people, who can come to God only through them.

The visible Church is thus Christ. What she teaches he teaches; what she decides, he ratifies; what she does, he renders effectual. The same obedience, trust, and reverence are, therefore, due to the Church as to Christ, because he pervades and controls all her actions by his Spirit; or, as the philosophical school of Romanists and Protestants unite in saying, because the Logos is incarnate in the Church. Departure, therefore, from the doctrine of the visible Church, in any point, is heresy; separation from her is, of necessity, separation from Christ. From all this follows: 1. On the part of the people, the duty of absolute submission. Any disobedience to the Church is rebellion against Christ. 2. On the part of the Church, the ability and the right to rule with sovereign authority over all persons and things. Any infallible body is, of necessity, supreme. It must have the right to determine the sphere within which its judgments are to be regarded as the judgments of God. The State is consequently entirely subordinate to an infallible Church. It must and ought to be so. 3. It also follows from these premises that persecution is a duty. Heresy is not only a sin against God, but a crime against society. Liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment suppose an essential equality among men in their means of knowing the truth. In the presence of an infallible Church we can have no more right to judge for ourselves, than in the presence of God. The Church, therefore, having the ability, infallibly, to determine what is heresy, is bound to suppress it.*

* This is so obvious a deduction, that even Mr. Palmer, though nominally a Protestant, insists that it is right to suppress false doctrine and dissent by the power of the sword.

It thus appears that everything depends on the answer given to the question, What is the Church? If the attributes, prerogatives, and promises which pertain to the body of Christ, belong to the external visible society of professing Christians, then the whole Romish system follows by a logical necessity. Anglicanism is an illogical abortion. It violates the principle of its own life. There is no *via media* between Protestantism and Popery; and there is no middle ground between Popery and the universal theocracy of Hildebrand. It is absurd that men should contend with God, or with God's vicegerent. If the salvation of all men is in the hands of the priesthood, and if that priesthood is infallibly guided in all their decisions as to matters of faith and practice, then, by the two most commanding of human motives, conscience and the desire of salvation, are men held in absolute subjection. If this doctrine is true, all half-way measures are paltry tamperings with immortal interests.

This portentous system has not only the power of logical consistency, it overawes the imagination by its magnificence. Think of a body of men infallible as teachers and judges; the dispensers of the Holy Ghost, regenerating all who come to them, filling them with the Spirit of God by the imposition of hands, gathering round them a society, all whose members are the children of God and the heirs of eternal life; a society which stands out as a refuge to all nations and from all evils, guided by Christ's own vicar, to whom all kings are but children, conscience bound, on the peril of eternal perdition, to implicit obedience. What does the millennium, or Christ reigning personally on earth, promise more than this?

Another element of power in this system is its verisimilitude—its likeness to the truth. Bossuet says: The Church is visible, the Church is perpetual, the Church teaches the truth, are the three immovable pillars of Romanism. No Protestant denies either of these propositions. All that Romanists assert of the Church is, in one sense, true. It is true, the Church is one, is holy, is divinely guided, is perpetual, is visible, that out of her pale there is no salvation, and within it no perdition. All this is true, and therefore has the power of truth over the reason, the heart, and conscience. It is true of the Church, but not

of what they call the Church, which is only one form of the world. It is, however, by this verisimilitude, this truth-like sound and appearance, that Romanism exerts its power. So Satan takes the form of an angel of light, so like, and yet so different.

Just in proportion to the logical consistency and magnificence of this system, if true, are its concrete enormity and horror, if false. Then for infallible guides we have erring men; for truth, heresy; for holiness, sin; for regeneration, outward cleaning; for salvation, the more certain perdition; for the Lord Jesus Christ, the real Teacher, Sanctifier and Redeemer, antichrist, who deceives, degrades, and enslaves the nations by pretending to be Christ, while he is really the man of sin, and son of perdition. The doctrine then that the Church is a visible organized society, whose rulers, in virtue of their office, are authorized to determine what all men must believe and do, and have the power to forgive sin, which forgiveness can only be obtained through their absolution, granted on specific confession, is the constituent principle of that power which has debauched and enslaved the world; the power which sits in the temple of God, declaring itself to be God, claiming divine power and divine homage. It is the mystery of iniquity, sustained by the working of Satan, with all power, the power of logic, the power of plausibility, the power of superstition, the power of an evil conscience, the power of the sword, and the power of lying wonders. It is a power which has held and will hold the world in subjection, until the Lord shall consume it with the Spirit of his mouth, and the brightness of his coming.

Objections.—Of the objections commonly urged against the doctrine that the Church is the communion of saints, consisting of true believers, those only which demand notice in this connection are—First, that as the societies at Ephesus, Corinth and Rome were undoubtedly churches, and as they were composed of insincere, as well as sincere professors of faith, it follows that the Church does not consist exclusively of true believers. This objection has already been answered. The fact referred to proves only that those who profess to be members of the Church, are addressed and treated as members. In the same manner those who professed to be believers, saints, the children of God, are constantly in Scripture addressed as

being what they professed to be. If therefore addressing a body of men as a Church, proves that they are really its constituent members, addressing them as believers and saints must prove they all have true faith, and are really holy. The objection, therefore, is founded on a false assumption, viz: that men are always what they are addressed as being; and it would prove far more than the objector is willing to admit, viz: that all the members of the external Church are saints and believers, and would thus establish the very doctrine the objection is adduced to refute.

A second and more plausible objection is founded upon those parables of our Lord, in which the kingdom of heaven is compared to a net containing fish, good and bad, and to a field in which tares grow together with the wheat. As the Church and kingdom of heaven are assumed to be the same, it is inferred that if the one includes good and bad, so must also the other.

In answer to this objection it may be remarked, in the first place, that it is founded on a false assumption. The terms "kingdom of God" and "Church," are not equivalent. Many things are said of the one, which cannot be said of the other. It cannot be said of the Church that it consists not in meat and drink, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Nor can it be said that the Church is within us; neither are we commanded to seek first the Church; nor is the Church said to be at hand. All these forms of expression occur in reference to the kingdom of God, but are inapplicable to the Church. It is evident, therefore, that is not safe to conclude that something is true of the Church, simply because it is a parcel of the kingdom of God.

Again, it is a sound rule in the interpretation of parables, not to infer from them what they were not designed to teach. The parable of the ten virgins was designed to enforce the duty of watchfulness. We are not to infer from five of the virgins being wise and five foolish, that just one half of professing Christians are to be saved, and one half lost. Nor can we fairly conclude, from the foolish virgins having lamps, oil, and light as well as the wise, that true believers can fall from grace. Whether these things are so, cannot be determined by this parable, because these are evidently not what Christ intended

to teach. As, therefore, the parables in question were not intended to teach us the condition of membership in the kingdom of heaven, they cannot decide that point. In one place Christ asserts didactically, that regeneration by the Holy Spirit is essential to admission into his kingdom; shall we infer in direct opposition to this assertion, that his kingdom includes both the regenerate and unregenerate, because he compares it to a net containing fishes, good and bad? Certainly not, because the comparison was not designed to teach us what is the condition of membership in his kingdom. This, however, is the precise point in dispute. What is the Church? What is the condition of membership in the body of Christ? Does his body consist of all the baptized, or of all true believers? As our Lord did not intend to answer these questions in those parables, they do not answer them. The design of each particular parable, is to be learned from the occasion on which it was delivered, and from its contents. That respecting the tares and the wheat, was evidently intended to teach that as God has not given us the power to inspect the heart, or to discriminate between the sincere and insincere professors of religion, he has not imposed on us the obligation to do so. That is his work. We must allow both to grow on together until the harvest, when he will effect the separation. This surely does not teach that what the Scriptures say of the wheat is to be understood of the tares. Others of these parables are obviously designed to teach that external profession or relations cannot secure the blessings of the kingdom of God. It is not every one who says, Lord, Lord, who is to be admitted into his presence. These parables teach that many of those who profess to be the disciples, and who, in the eyes of men, constitute his kingdom, are none of his. This is a very important lesson, but if we were to infer from the figure in which it is inculcated, that mere profession does make men members of Christ's kingdom, we should infer the very opposite from what he intended to teach. To learn the condition of membership in that kingdom, we must turn to those passages which are designed to teach us that point, to those which professedly set forth the nature of that kingdom, and the terms of admission into it.

This suggests a third remark in answer to the above objec-

tion. Whenever the kingdom of God means the same thing as the Church, it is expressly taught that admission into it depends on saving faith, or an inward spiritual change, and not on external rites or profession. The ancient prophets having predicted that after the rise and fall of other kingdoms, the God of heaven would set up a kingdom, the establishment of that kingdom became to his ancient people an object of expectation and desire. They were, however, greatly mistaken both as to its nature and the terms of admission into it. They had much the same notion of the kingdom of God that ritualists now have of the Church. They expected it to be, in its essential character, an external organization, and the condition of membership to be descent from Abraham, or the rite of circumcision. Our Lord did not simply modify this conception, by teaching that his kingdom, instead of being a visible organization, with kings and nobles, was to be such an organization, with cardinals and bishops; and that instead of circumcision, baptism was to secure membership. He presented a radically different idea of its whole nature. He taught that it was to be a spiritual kingdom, that it was to have its seat in the heart, its Sovereign being the invisible God in Christ; its laws such as relate to the conscience; its service the obedience of faith; its rewards eternal life. It is true he imposed upon his people the duty of confession, and other obligations which implied their manifestation to the world, and their external union among themselves. But these are mere incidents. His kingdom no more consists in these externals, than the nature of man in his name or colour. The kingdom of Christ is therefore spiritual, not only as opposed to secular, but as distinguished from external organization. Such organization is not the Church. The Bible speaks as familiarly of the kingdom of Satan as of the kingdom of Christ; men may be translated from the former to the latter without any change of their external relations. The kingdom of darkness is not a visible society, neither is the kingdom of light. Still the children of darkness are visible, being known by their works; they unite, and plan, and labour to promote their master's kingdom. In like manner the children of light are visible, being known by their fruits; they unite for the worship of Christ and the promotion of his cause. No one,

however, infers from the visibility of the wicked, that the kingdom of Satan as such is a visible society; neither can it be inferred from like premises that the kingdom of Christ is an external society. The question, which kingdom a man belongs to, the kingdom of Christ or the kingdom of Satan, the Church or the world, does not depend on any thing external, but on the state of his heart. It is a contradiction to say, the kingdom of Satan consists of good and bad, of the renewed and the unrenewed. It is no less a contradiction to say that the kingdom of Christ consists of the wicked and the good, the sincere and the insincere. The very idea of the one kingdom is that it consists of those who obey Satan, and that of the other that it is composed of those who obey Christ. If it is a contradiction to say there are good wicked men; it is no less a contradiction to say there are wicked good men. If Satan's kingdom consists of the wicked, Christ's kingdom consists of the good. Accordingly, whenever our Lord states the condition of admission into his kingdom, he declares it to be a change of heart, without which, he says, it is impossible any should enter it. "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit; marvel not that I said unto you, Ye must be born again." Whatever else this passage teaches, it certainly asserts the absolute necessity of an inward spiritual birth in order to membership in Christ's kingdom. If it be said that this spiritual birth is inseparable from baptism, and therefore, the baptized constitute the Church or kingdom of Christ, we answer, this concedes the whole question. If baptism regenerates, imparts a new spiritual nature, and makes men the children of God, and thus secures for them admission into the kingdom of God, or the Church, then of course that kingdom, in consisting of the baptized, consists of the regenerate; which is all Protestants contend for.

On another occasion the disciples came to our Lord, and asked: "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" He answered, "Verily, I say unto you, except ye be converted and

become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." There are no passages of an opposite character to those just quoted. That is, there are none which deny the necessity of this inward change, this true conversion unto God, in order to admission into his kingdom. There are none which teach that outward profession, or baptism, secures membership in that kingdom. The whole Bible asserts, that whether a man be circumcised or uncircumcised, baptized or unbaptized, unless he be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. "For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." Paul, therefore, says, that no unholy person has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Eph. v. 5.; Gal. v. 21.; 1 Cor. vi. 7-10. Wherever, therefore, the kingdom of God is synonymous with the Church, it is represented as consisting of those who recognize and obey Christ as their king, i. e., of true believers.

With this uniform representation of Scripture, the parables of our Lord are perfectly consistent. Those parables are to be interpreted just as we explain the language of the apostles to the Churches to which they wrote. They addressed those Churches as consisting of faithful brethren, of the children of God, of the sanctified in Christ Jesus, and yet they exhort them to cast out their unholy or impure members. This does not mean that a company of believers, consists partly of unbelievers; or that a communion of saints consists partly of the unsanctified. It merely means that those who profess to be saints and are manifestly wicked should be disowned as saints. The same principle, viz: that men are designated according to their profession, marks the parables of our Lord. Those who profess to be his kingdom are called his kingdom. His saying, that his kingdom is like a net containing fish, good and bad, does not teach that the members of Satan's kingdom are also members of the kingdom of Christ. It simply teaches that among those who profess to be his subjects, and to constitute his kingdom, some are sincere and some are insincere, and that the separation between the two classes cannot be made until the last day.

ART. II.—*The Bible in the Counting-House.* A Course of Lectures to Merchants. By H. A. Boardman, D.D. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853.

EVERY advance of our race beyond barbarism implies and developes new occupations, classes, relations, and responsibilities among men. This is one of those propositions which need only to be stated to secure universal acceptance. It hence follows that Christianity, being a religion for universal man, must be capable of meeting him in these new, ever-varying, and complex relations, and of prescribing adequate rules for his guidance therein. In itself, and in its essential principles, it is evermore one and the same—like its Author, unchangeable, because it is perfect. The faith of God's elect—the faith once delivered to the saints, by which they have lived, and died, and triumphed in all generations, is one. All true Christians, in every age, have clung to those great truths which constitute Christianity, and which found salvation on the grace of God in Christ, as for the life of their souls. These truths, with greater or less accuracy and explicitness, have ever been held and professed by all real believers. They are the common and inalienable property of the Church catholic and universal, understood not as limited to any visible organization, but as comprising all and only the “sanctified in Christ Jesus.” Viewing the Church in this light, the evangelical system can endure, as no other system can, that great test of catholicity which has been so earnestly pressed in some quarters, that it has been held *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*.

As this religion is one objectively in the truths which compose it, so it is one subjectively, or in its effects upon the hearts, consciences, intellects, and lives of those who embrace it, i. e., believe, love, and obey it. These effects must be and are essentially the same in all. The diversities in the effects of Christianity upon different persons arise from the various degrees of imperfection, in the faith, obedience, love, purity, with which they receive the doctrine of Christ, and from the various forms and degrees of antagonism to the Christian life, originally existing, or still remaining in the souls of the converted.

Nevertheless, it is past all question that the essential characteristics, which make up Christian piety, or which flow from it, are the same in all, however they may be modified in their workings or manifestations by the peculiarities of individuals, classes, or sects: just as human nature is essentially one, made up of the same great elements, although endlessly diversified in its aspects, by national, provincial, classical, educational, religious, and personal peculiarities, and by the numberless, palpable, and undefinable influences acting in ways manifold upon it. No one doubts that all Christians are such by faith in Christ as their atoning Mediator and justifying righteousness; that thus love to God is shed abroad in their hearts; that with love are joined filial fear, reverence and devotion; that they commune with God in habitual prayer; that they make it their great business to mortify sin and live unto God; that they love other Christians, and desire the good of all men; that they exercise themselves to keep consciences void of offence towards God, and towards man; that they deny, distrust, and abase themselves, while they exalt their God and Saviour; that they renounce the world for Christ, and live by the hope of heavenly glory which the gospel inspires. Many may show some or all these traits very feebly, and sometimes deformed by stains of imperfection, which even cause the name of God to be blasphemed. But still, if the Bible is to be believed, or the universal conviction of the Christian Church is to be regarded, it is beyond all doubt, that, in some degree at least, all Christians have them.

But while Christian truth is one, and Christian piety is one, always and everywhere, yet because of this very unity, they are as manifold in their requirements and influence, as the diversified states and relations of the men upon whom they operate. The sun is always the same. Its rays are always the same. Yet they produce one effect upon a clouded, another upon a cloudless sky—one upon an opaque, another upon a transparent substance. Upon the face of the same earth, according to its shifting attitudes towards this same sun, it gives day and night, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Even so, the one religion of the gospel presents its side to each of the varied and ever varying conditions and attitudes of men,

who all alike have essentially the same human nature; who are always and everywhere alike, by nature, rational, moral, accountable, sinful beings: and, when united to Christ, become one in him; having one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, and Father, one hope of their calling, one celestial inheritance. The same fear and love of God, the same hearty obedience to his law, and devotion to his glory involve one set of duties in parents, another in children; one in rulers, another in subjects; one in employers and masters, another in employees and servants; one in church officers, another in the Christian people. All this is obvious. That religion could not be one, which, while it demands evermore the same fealty to God, did not at the same time require, as involved in that fealty, services on the part of men, diversified according to their circumstances, capacities, relations, and opportunities. Accordingly, we find that the uniform method of apostolic teaching is, first to set forth the great truths and duties with respect to God, which lie at the foundation of salvation by grace and of experimental religion; and then, by way of practical inference, to prescribe the personal and relative offices due from men in their various conditions and relations. And while they prescribe the duties, they also warn and fortify believers against the temptations peculiar to their various circumstances and avocations.

This being so, it is inevitable that the multitudinous occupations and relations which arise with an advancing civilization, should require new applications of the great principles of Christianity to enforce the peculiar duties, or guard against the new temptations, to which they give birth. If men have so far got beyond the savage state, as to distribute their labours to an extent that leads to a mutual exchange of commodities, by buying and selling, then our religion exacts scrupulous veracity and honesty in such transactions, and condemns all fraud, all false weights and balances, as an abomination to the Lord. If with the consequent growth of traffic and commerce, the system of free and extended credits arises, it warns us that the "borrower is servant of the lender," and pronounces it iniquitous to contract debts which there is no reasonable prospect of being able to pay, enjoining us to "owe no man anything but by love to serve one another." And as mercantile life abounds in

temptations to forget God and all dependence upon him, to trust in the multitude of riches, and in the skill and other advantages which men possess to accumulate and protect them, so the word of God warns them: "Go to now, ye that say, To-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell and get gain; whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this, or that." So to those who thrive upon oppression, and wax rich by uncompensated toil, he utters the burning denunciation, "your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days."

Few have duly reflected upon the prodigious increase of mercantile business in our country during the last few years. Few even suspect how vast is the increase of the commercial class, and of the numerous other classes who are directly or indirectly in their service, or otherwise reticulated with them. It has augmented in a sort of geometric ratio, until a large part of the people of our older Northern States belong to the manufacturing and trading class, or are engaged in its service, or immediately dependent upon it. In other parts of the country too, the increase has been, if not proportionate, at all events vast. Various causes have contributed thus to render us a nation of traffickers. All traffic has its origin in the simple fact, that in proportion as men confine themselves to single departments of labour, they acquire an aptitude and facility therein, which enable them, with a given amount of exertion, to produce in vastly greater abundance and perfection the various articles of human subsistence and comfort, than would otherwise be possible. With the progress of civilization, this division of labour goes forward indefinitely, ever reaching minuter, and still minuter subdivisions. Hence arises and ever increases the mutual exchange of commodities, on this simple principle, that each one can obtain a larger supply of the comforts of life, by working exclusively in one vocation, and, with the surplus products of that, paying for what else he desires, than by attempt-

ing to produce all himself. Such an attempt would reduce him at once to the savage state, in which the utmost toil would only yield a coarse, scanty, miserable subsistence. Hence the first step of emergence from pure savagism, lies in the rudest forms of barter, resulting from some little distribution of labour, or inequality in its fruits, either fortuitous or intentional. As these exchanges increase in number and complexity, they necessitate and call into being money, the great medium and instrument of exchange; because it is made a measure of salable value. With the increase of traffic, and of money, its great instrument, and with the extension of these interchanges between the most distant climes over the whole earth, the business of facilitating the transfer and exchange of money itself, at the least expense, becomes immense; bankers become the nobles of the land. In the present high, perhaps excessive and dangerous commercial tendency of our country and Britain, the Exchange is the real seat of empire, and they who preside there are the potentates who, in the most vital points, rule it. For "money answereth all things."

These statements will scarcely be deemed extravagant, when we remember that governments are so often dependent upon bankers for funds to prosecute their schemes, and that it is so often for the Barings and the Rothschilds to say whether they shall have the sinews of war, or the means of prosecuting their internal improvements, or other projects of aggrandizement; and that our own government goes to Wall Street to turn its own obligations into money. What legislation of any sort has exercised an influence upon the condition of our country, at all so potent, as the vast lines of Railway that have been recently constructed? And whence, but from the same hive of money-changers, have the means been procured to build these avenues, now stretching almost beyond measurement, costing hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars? Withal, the power of these huge corporations is immense and ubiquitous. It is felt in every sphere, in business, in legislation, in all the affairs of life, in every part of the land. Among the influences that have increased traffic and mercantile business beyond all former example, these may justly claim the pre-eminence, and this, for the very simple reason, that by facilitating and cheapening

travel and the transportation of commodities, they stimulate that production, and mutual exchange between all parts of our land, and all parts of the world, which give being to all commerce and mercantile business. The vast improvements in navigation, by steam and sail, have also contributed their share to the same result. And in aid of all these comes the electric telegraph.

Next comes the prodigious development of manufacturing skill and enterprise. Here, too, steam is the great motor, and in thousands of shops, and in the production of numberless fabrics, is made to perform the work of an hundred hands. The articles of convenience, comfort, or luxury thus fabricated, defy all computation. They make an immense addition to the stock of merchantable wares, and the range of mercantile business. Not only so, but the management of these colossal establishments themselves, often requires vast business transactions, high financial skill, and the largest counting-rooms. And since, by the use of steam, they can be located wherever convenience dictates, vast numbers are now made to swell the population and business of cities, great and small, which otherwise had never been built, or had been placed in some mountain gorge, with a rude hamlet of operatives around, as distant as possible from metropolitan, or mercantile associations.

A third source of this amazing growth of business is the rapid increase of our population, not merely by natural growth, but by foreign immigration. This has flowed in beyond all precedent, for the last few years. They have added vastly to our consumers and producers, and thus to trade and commerce. The mere business of transporting them hither indeed, is making not a few merchant princes. They, to a large extent, perform our menial services; they level our mountains and valleys. They enter the wild prairies and forests and turn them into luxuriant gardens and golden grain-fields, whose harvests are crowded into the great marts of commerce.

The last extraordinary stimulus to commercial pursuits within the past few years, which there is occasion to specify, is the discovery of the gold of California and Australia. The vast tide of emigration thither, together with the supply of the wants of a people flushed with the sudden accumulation of gold, and

destitute of everything else, has of itself generated a business, which probably would have tasked most of our eommercial facilities at the time of the Revolution. The supplies of gold brought baek in return, by inereasing money and raising pries, has been the great basis which underlies and gives healthful stability and vigour to all other causes of this unexampled eommercial activity and prosperity.

The grand result of all is, that mercantile business has been amplified, diversified, and rendered prosperous; and in every way has received an impulse and enlargement, beyond all former example. Towns, villages, cities, and espeially, the great emporiums of trade, have both grown and multiplied, to an extent that has outstripped and confounded the imaginations of the most visionary speculators. These, with the oocupations pursued in them, have an ascendeney and attraetiveness before unknown. They are drawing the young in throngs into their charmed spheres of aetivity, while immense numbers of older men say, "Come, let us go to yonder eity, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain." They send out influenees for good or for evil over the whole country, which it is hard to overrate. They are bringing men into new, and unwonted, and broad relations of responsibility. They are filled up with all orders of men, from the top to the bottom of society; with the dregs of debasement which sink to the lowest deep, and the seum of dandies, charlatans, and genteel libertines that float on the surface—while mingled with the whole, are the vast body of the industrious, the enterprising, the sober, the thrifty, the intelligent, the refined, the good, and the great, the leaders and supporters of the Church and the state—the substantial material and eement, the pillars and the ornaments of the soeial edifice. The power of eities and of the eommercial elass in them, is inereasing for good or for evil every day. How important then that Christian prinieple should permeate every sphere, and regulate all the praetiees of eommercial life; that these eities beecome, not Sodoms, from which issues forth a brimstone pollution, first to corrupt, and then to consume our land; but Jerusalems, cities of God, whence go out streams of holy influenee to purify and bless our nation!

This aspect of the case grows in importance as we eonsider the

strong taste for commercial pursuits which is inbred in the American people, and hurries the young from the most sequestered rural vales into the great centres of trade. Dr. Boardman says not less justly than forcibly, pp. 28-9:

“To no people has so fine a field been presented for the culture of rural tastes, nor such opportunities for enjoying the substantial comforts of a country life: but this is not to their liking. Agriculture is tame and passionless. Our young men must have more scope for ambition, more society, and, above all, employments which will bring in quicker and ampler profits. It is no objection with them that the hazards of commerce are far greater and its temptations more insidious; that they may drudge like slaves, and have little or nothing to show for it; that a very large proportion of the merchants in every city fail, and *they* may fail too. They admit all this, but it is more than counterpoised by the spectacle of huge fortunes made in a day. The tales of sudden wealth, which go out from our Atlantic cities, are rehearsed in the hamlets of the interior with something of the fascination excited in the olden time by the feats of crusaders and knights-errant. The brilliant speculations we so often see chronicled in the newspapers, have, no doubt, decided the question of duty with many a youth, who was considering to what occupation he should devote himself. In any event, there is no village in the land which does not contribute its recruits to that vast array of clerks and junior partners, which constitutes so important a part of the effective force of commerce. If a foreigner, curious in such matters, wished to compare the natives of the different portions of the Republic, down to the remotest savannahs and the most secluded valleys, the best thing he could do, would be to attend a general meeting of one of our ‘Mercantile Library Associations.’ From every quarter the tide sets with a steady flow towards the depots of commerce. And so powerful is this current, that we must make up our minds, for the present, to see the greater part of our children drawn into it.”

So far as our own observation goes, this is no exaggeration. It serves to show the vast numbers, influence, and importance of the mercantile body, and the extent to which they are intertwined with all parts, all interests, and all the

people of our country. Nothing could more decisively show the pressing need of bringing the laws and usages of mercantile life under a Christian regimen.

The recent enormous growth of trade and manufactures, has given rise to an intensity of competition in trade altogether unexampled. Rapidly as the field of legitimate commerce widens, the number who, tempted by the golden lure, crowd into it, increases still faster. Hence arises the necessity of a more close and entire, and even slavish application to business, in order to ward off the encroachments of rivals, and ensure a lucrative business. Thus the temptation becomes strong and urgent to be totally absorbed in the pursuit of gain; to lose sight of every thing else, and make Mammon their god. With this insane thirst for gold many burn out all moral and religious principle, and sear all the better natural instincts, affections, and sensibilities. And if they are guiltless of that infidelity which provides not for one's own, they often come to neglect all other duties to their families, to God, man, and themselves. Such are some of the perils of that overweening devotion to business to which the present course of things spurs and goads the merchant.

But another effect of this fierce competition is, that it presents extraordinary motives to dishonesty. The temptations to fraud, to a "false weight and false balance," are indeed as old as trade itself. But it is obvious that the more vehement and pressing the competition in business, the more violent does the inducement become to thwart and outdo rivals, by unworthy artifices. They will grow more fertile in the invention of such artifices, either to pass off a spurious or inferior article in place of the genuine thing professedly sold, or to *drum* up or decoy customers by fraud, slander, or demoralizing allurements. This is one form of peculiar mercantile temptation, and source of stupendous mercantile iniquity in our new state of things.

Another consequence of this vast commercial expansion is, that poverty and degradation grow apace with wealth, luxury, and refinement, and in close contiguity and relationship to them. Indeed, it is by the skilful use of the labour of the poor, (a use mutually advantageous to all parties,) that wealth

is acquired. They are the bones, sinews, and muscles of trade. Hence, with the amazing increase of cities, and of opulent tradesmen, manufacturers and capitalists within them, there is a still greater increase of that dependent class, who can procure their daily bread only by daily toil. And with the unequalled provocatives to lust and depraved appetite, the nurseries and hotbeds of vice, which spring up in our cities as spontaneously as weeds from the earth, there is a constant downward tendency towards savage and even bestial debasement. Thus side by side with the ever multiplying movements of a wealth that baffles computation, are the signals of a poverty and a degradation so abject, that when we seem to have fathomed the lowest deep, a lower yet remains. The avenues adorned with lines of palaces which dazzle us by their splendour, and confound us in view of the unmeasured affluence of which they are the symbols, are but a moment's walk from the lanes and purlieus, the shanties, garrets, cells, and caverns, the large infected districts, where want, starvation, unalleviated woe, pestilence, infidelity, heathenism, drunkenness, debauchery, crime and violence, make a hell begun on earth. This, indeed, is nothing new in great cities. But the rapid growth and multiplication of such cities has increased these cancers in the very heart of society, with a rapidity of which few have been conscious. These countless swarms of the poor in our cities impose duties on their wealthy and prosperous townsmen, of the most weighty character. They are raising some of the most difficult problems for Christian zeal, wisdom and philanthropy. How shall this gigantic evil be confronted? All Christians must agree that the only radical cure for this and all other festering social maladies, is that gospel which is the power of God unto salvation. All socialistic remedies by the reconstruction of society, have power only to destroy. They can never build up. Evangelical religion alone can do the work, by first making the tree good that the fruit may be good. The question is, in what way, and by what channels, organizations, and agencies shall our city Christians be so enlisted as to cause the gospel most effectually to be preached to the poor, the degraded, and the outcast? It seems inevitable, in the present course of things, that the mind of the Church should

be more and more directed towards these subjects. Christian merchants need to be both guided and stimulated in relation to it. The Mission Sunday-schools of our city churches have done and are doing a great and blessed work. But this is far from meeting the full obligations of those to whom much is given, and of whom much will be required. No field of Home Missions is more urgent or difficult. Macaulay has hardly exaggerated, in saying that our modern civilization, if in no danger from the irruption of barbarian hordes from without, is in imminent danger from the barbarism it is nursing and rearing up within the great cities. The difficulties of the case are complicated by the fact that the lower strata of the population of our cities are mostly foreigners, who are either bigoted papists, or infidels and socialists. Already there is fear that Boston, the Pilgrim metropolis, will soon be under the control of foreigners! The condition of the municipal governments of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, has long been such as to excite the most serious alarm.

The vast increase of trade has in various ways been attended with most serious effects upon domestic life, and the observance of the Sabbath. Not only do the new agencies of transportation and travel by steam on sea and land extensively operate on the Sabbath, thus compelling some, and alluring more to desecrate the day, and deadening the public conscience to the sin of secularizing it; but the stringent pressure of business during the week, is pleaded by increasing multitudes as a good apology for prostituting the Sabbath to business or pleasure. Thus, through all the thoroughfares issuing from our great cities, on a summer's Sabbath, throngs go forth to pollute themselves and the whole surrounding country with their profane sports and diversions. While all this is no less demoralizing than inexcusable, there is a growing temptation to invade the Sabbath at points more vital—we mean in the families of Christian and church-going merchants. Owing to the immense expansion of business, their places of abode have generally become so distant from their counting-rooms, that they are little with their families, and especially at the principal meal of the day, except on Sunday. The temptation to make that the feast-day of the week, and to lose sight of its sanctity, in plea-

surable domestic and social excitement, is obvious. The empty seats in churches at the second service, the riding and walking for pleasure on the Sabbath, which are so much on the increase in this class of families, betray too clearly the painful result. We are undoubtedly nearing the point where one great issue will be whether the Scotch and Puritan, and we may say, the hitherto American idea of the Sabbath, according to which it is to be kept sacred to religious purposes, excepting only works of necessity and mercy; or the papal and continental idea of it, according to which, after attending public worship, it is to be deemed a sort of holiday, shall prevail. And a greater question in its whole bearings on the cause of religion and the welfare of our country, it is difficult to conceive. Here the Christian mercantile body have a high responsibility. Through their aid in no small degree, the evil is coming in as a flood. It is for them to stand as an adamant barrier against it. And their spiritual guides must bring these things within the scope of their inculcations.

In close neighbourhood to the Sabbath and family, comes the altered position of the clerks and apprentices in great commercial and manufacturing towns. Within the memory of most persons who have seen forty years, both these branches of business were commonly conducted on a scale of such moderation, that clerks and apprentices usually lived in the families of their employers, and were not merely during working hours, but at all times, under their responsible guardianship. Thus, although they left their homes at a most critical period of life, they still felt the corrective and moulding influence of the family, and of an authoritative supervision, only less than parental. In the colossal establishments of the present day, this is impracticable; and in those smaller concerns, where it might be practicable, it is unwelcome and unfashionable. The consequence is that they are taken, at the period of life most susceptible to temptation, from the sweet and pure influences of a rural, often a Christian home of parental care and sisterly love, and thrown into the tainted atmosphere of city hotels or boarding-houses, already filled with experts in metropolitan vice and dissipation. Unguarded and unrestrained here, is it wonderful that so many of them soon lose their ingenuous sim-

plicity of character and purity of habit, and learn to spend the night and the Sabbath in scenes of sensual mirth? that they soon throw the reins upon the neck of lust, and become victims, wrecks of intemperance and licentiousness? What havoc has thus been made with the ranks of our choicest youth, in the walks of commerce, to which the Christian families of the land have contributed their melancholy quota? It is plain that in this state of things the consciences of the mercantile class ought to be aroused to a sense of their obligations to this most interesting class, over whom it is in their power to exert so great and happy an influence. From among them are to come the future merchants and merchant-princes who shall conduct the commerce of the country. Not only are the dearest private affections and hopes bound up with them, but the most precious interests of society and the Church hinge upon the course they take and the characters they form. It is hard to overstate the importance of persuading Christian merchants to a faithful discharge of their stewardship in this particular; of inducing them to strain every nerve to fortify this class against the seductions of vice and infidelity, and to allure them by the attractions of the cross to the service of their Redeemer.

Here too, this subject finds a point of contact with nearly all the congregations and pastors of the land. There are few among the evangelical, and especially the Calvinistic congregations of the United States, whose ranks of young men or youth approaching manhood are not more than decimated to furnish recruits for the various classes engaged in commerce or manufactures in the cities. Many a rural pastor—and the writer of this is one of them—constantly sees the flower of his flock borne away to the great marts of commerce, by a current which no human power can resist. All such have a deep personal interest in the influences which surround and will shape the character and destiny of those for whose salvation they have unceasingly laboured and prayed. They desire their temporal and eternal well-being. And not this only; but they long to see them arrayed on the side of truth and holiness in these great centres of influence, where the forces of good and evil are gathered and marshalled in direct and dire conflict with each other. They desire, as all good men must

desire, to see them add their influence and resources to that body of pious and benevolent men, and that store of consecrated wealth, in our cities, which can shield them from the consuming vengeance of heaven, and which diffuse their conservative and purifying influence over the whole land.

It has thus become a matter of urgent necessity that the Christian ministry should meet this extraordinary state of things, and shed the light of Christian truth on all the pathways and windings, the exigencies and temptations of mercantile life. Many of these are novel, the products of the late unexampled growth of trade. We hold, indeed most tenaciously, that the main business of the Christian pastor is to lead his people to fellowship with God through Christ, and build them up in that faith, love, and hope, from which all moral and relative duties will come, as an outgrowth from this living root within. Yet this makes it none the less true, that the consciences of Christian men need to be quickened and enlightened in regard to the nature and obligation of those duties. This is peculiarly true in reference to innumerable things connected with traffic, where self-interest dulls or blinds the conscience, and a general adoption of, or connivance at, immoral practices, serves to gloss their enormity. All classes are apt to have a casuistry of their own, by which they justify maxims which accord with their own wishes and practices, while they are such as to be reprobated by every unbiassed mind. This needs to be exposed by the searching light of divine truth: especially does this light need to be applied to those new circumstances of temptation or peril, which have suddenly and imperceptibly arisen upon us, and in regard to which the mercantile class are quietly gliding into maxims and practices most unwarrantable and fatal.

We are not surprised, therefore, that Dr. Boardman was moved to attempt the contribution which we find in the volume before us, towards the supply of this want. An examination of the book satisfies us that he did not enter upon the work unbidden. Few men are by position and endowments so well prepared to understand the nature of the work that needed to be done, or to appreciate its importance. Few were so well fitted to do it, and none, we are persuaded, could have done it better. His whole ministerial life, now exceeding twenty years,

has been passed in one of the chief commercial cities, and in the midst of some of the first mercantile circles of the country. This and more than this is true of others. But we apprehend that few, if any, clergymen have been such close and accurate observers of all the habits, pursuits, methods, arts, views, temptations, and aspirations which enter into the daily life of the mercantile class, among whom they move, and to whom they minister. All see and hear enough to get some fragmentary and one-sided notions relative to some branches of the subject. But after all, their understanding of many of the practices discussed in this book, is so partial, that they would be in danger of missing their aim and failing to command the conscience, by denouncing unrealities, rather than actual entities, which are attested by the consciousness of those concerned as soon as they are stated. We are particularly struck with the accuracy and justness of the representations given of all the various attitudes of mercantile life which this book brings under review. This is a fundamental requisite, without which, the utmost ability in all other respects would have been of slight avail.

Closely allied to this are the strong good sense and judgment mingled with Christian fairness for which the author is justly reputed, which have contributed much to the usefulness of his highly successful pastorate, and will add much to the usefulness of this volume. The subjects here treated are of that peculiar kind that are apt to fare ill at the hands of preachers. They are apt to be passed in utter silence, or to be touched in that style of distant, dainty allusion, which is no better than silence; or to be made the marks for an indiscriminate denunciation which fails to reach the conscience, because of its manifest ultraism. Dr. Boardman never paralyzes his deliverances in this way. We have been struck with the carefulness and precision with which he distinguishes things that differ, and avoids the common error of denouncing things that are lawful, in order more effectually to proscribe the unlawful. This method defeats itself, among a class as intelligent as the merchants of our country. It is the common style of fanatical preachers, and impresses none but the ignorant, the enthusiastic, or the pharisaical. When Dr. Boardman has thus distinguished the unlawful thing in question, from other allowable things often confounded with it, he puts it in a form which

compels the consciences of all to take sides with him, and from this stand-point utters his denunciations and rebukes with resistless effect. Almost every chapter in the book furnishes some fine illustrations of this quality. In our judgment, here is one important condition of efficacy in all moral and religious teaching, and of all high ministerial influence. Many sermons, otherwise powerful, are made powerless by their indiscriminate-ness or their extravagance. Of course the same is true of many preachers. Some one has said, that "congregations will endure many faults in their pastors, but they will not long endure a want of common sense." Dr. Dwight observes, that according to his observation, nineteen-twentieths of the ministers dismissed in his day in New England, owed their dismissal to their own imprudence.

A third quality which will commend these lectures to the favour of the class for whom they are designed, is the chaste and elevated, yet forcible and popular style in which they are presented. As every man's style is but the reflection or outshining of his own mind, so Dr. Boardman's style reflects his own mental vigour, clearness, vivacity, industry, finish and taste. It abounds in apt illustrations, puts abstract principles in concrete, living forms; is relieved by salient points, and sparkling jets; it often rings with the notes of a genuine eloquence, and is enriched with copious and apposite facts, apparently noted for the purpose, in the course of an extensive reading. In our opinion, the author has adopted that felicitous style of treating these subjects, which will ensure the reading of his book by those for whom it is intended. As the lectures, when delivered, were eagerly attended by the most respectable merchants of all communions, so we think they will be read with delight and profit by multitudes of every Christian denomination throughout the country.

It is another advantage of these discourses, that, while their object is to brand with reprobation whatever in mercantile life or usages is condemned by the Bible, they are not mainly in a damnable strain. They present in bright and attractive hues the model Christian merchant, in contrast to all the sordid and unchristian traits which are condemned and made to appear odious. All preaching which is largely censorious or

objurgatory, which, along with just condemnation of error and wickedness, fails to set forth the true and the good in commanding prominence and winning loveliness, will be comparatively powerless. It is not enough to awaken the fear of hell. The devils also believe and tremble. Beyond this, he who would be wise to win souls must

“Allure to brighter worlds and lead the way.”

As a manual or vade-mecum to place in the hands of tradesmen of all sorts, and of youth aspiring to the mercantile profession, this book fills a void in our literature. Those who are conversant with the perils of this class will feel that it is precisely what was needed, and that it promises to be widely useful. A single glance at the topics handled will indicate its drift. These are “the claims of the mercantile profession upon the pulpit; the rule of commercial rectitude; the true mercantile character; hasting to be rich; speculating; bankruptcy; principals and clerks; domestic life and literary culture of the man of business; the claims of the Sabbath upon merchants; the true riches; living to God.” We need not add that the author builds all upon Christ, and makes the whole subservient to evangelical piety. He constantly and strenuously insists that the grace of the gospel is the only true and perennial spring of even worldly morality; and that the most splendid virtues will, at the last day, be adjudged to be but splendid sins, unless they are vitalized by faith in Christ. We had marked for extract several powerful passages on this, as well as other subjects; but our limits compel us to conclude with the following passage, which presents the author’s own summation of his purposes and views in preparing the work.

“My object has been, to get the Bible installed in the Counting-House, as the only arbiter of duty, and the regulator of all the diversified concerns of commerce. The domain we have been traversing together, is that rather of morality than of theology. The whole burden of these discourses has been in the direction of practical godliness—the actual exemplification of veracity, integrity, diligence, moderation, and kindness, in the daily routine of traffic. And the ready conclusion which some auditors may deduce from these premises—the specula-

tion too rife in the walks of commerce wherever her masts or her warerooms are to be found—is, that a compliance with these precepts *is all that is required in order to SALVATION*: ‘this do, and thou shalt live.’ We derogate nothing from the intrinsic excellence nor the indispensable importance of these virtues, when we admonish you that this is a most serious and fatal error. The Bible challenges a control over all your relations and occupations, and exacts a rigid conformity to its pure ethics in every transaction, and even in every word and thought of your lives; but it is careful to apprize you of two things which are fundamental to the gospel system. One is, that all obedience, to be acceptable, must be animated by faith in the Redeemer and love to God: and the other is, that by no possibility can our own works avail to our pardon and salvation. ‘By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified.’ Our integrity may be unimpeachable, our lives may be radiant with acts of unostentatious charity, a whole community may unite in applauding our virtues; but if our hope of heaven have no better foundation than this, it is built upon the sand. For we must be saved either by works or by grace: the two cannot coalesce. ‘If by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work.’ If we elect to try works instead of grace—to get to heaven through the merit of our own obedience—then, clearly, we must obey the Divine law *perfectly*: for an imperfect obedience can entitle no one to its rewards. But who can meet the full requisitions of a law which extends to the thoughts and intents of the heart, forbids the slightest improper feeling or emotion, and enjoins a holiness as immaculate as that of the seraphim before the throne? The thing is impossible. We can make no remote approximation to it. Human nature is radically diseased, and demands as radical a cure. The very examples which seem to approach nearest to the Scripture standard of morality, are not infrequently vitiated by a latent element of self-righteousness which must make them ‘an abomination in the sight of God.’ His eye is upon the heart; and *that* it is his own prerogative to renew.

‘The transformation of apostate man
From fool to wise, from earthly to divine
Is work for him that made him.’

“This work the Spirit of God accomplishes. It is an essential step in that free salvation which is the only alternative to the delusive and hopeless scheme of salvation by works. Simultaneously with this change, the Spirit convinces the sinner of sin, shows him the corruption of his heart, the imperfection of his obedience, the criminality of his unbelief; wakes up in his bosom an ingenuous sorrow for his sins; and constrains him, as an humble penitent, to cast himself upon the mercy of God in Jesus Christ. Trusting in the atoning blood and the finished righteousness of Christ for salvation, he obtains as a free gift, that plenary pardon which he never could have earned by his obedience, and that peace of mind which can be found no where in the universe but at the cross. Henceforward he ‘loves much’ because he has ‘much forgiven.’ He carries the spirit of true religion into his life, and faithfully, though still imperfectly, endeavours to keep the law of God. His integrity, truthfulness, and benevolence, now rest upon an impregnable basis. And the sentiment which animates his conduct, is no longer the mercenary temper of a servant, but the loving gratitude and loyalty of a child. He serves God, not that he may be saved, but *because* he is saved. And his obedience, consequently, is impressed with a breadth and a comprehension, a generosity and a cheerfulness, as remote as possible from the penurious homage he formerly rendered, while trying to merit salvation by his own works—a fellow-labourer therein, though of a more dignified character, with the ascetic iterating his parrot-like devotions in a damp cell, with the Mohammedan on his burning pilgrimage to Mecca, and with the Hindoo swinging through the air by a hook inserted in the sinews of his body. This is the true place of practical morality in the Christian scheme—not the foundation, but the superstructure; not the roots and the trunk, but the foliage and the fruit—the effect and evidence of salvation, not its procuring cause. A due apprehension of this truth would dispel the precarious hopes to which very many are now trusting, and turn off their thoughts from their own imaginary or superficial goodness, to Him who is equally able and willing to ‘save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him.’ Just in proportion as the mercantile classes are brought under the influence of a genuine

faith in Christ, will the Bible exert its sacred prerogative in their Counting-Houses, and their current secularities effloresce with the graces which cement and embellish the social state. Herein too consists the panoply they require for an exchange of worlds—that preparation for ‘retiring’ ultimately and for ever from business, and all that pertains to it, which every man should make, who shrinks from going portionless into eternity. There is nothing in eternity—nothing in the dark and chill passage which leads to it—to intimidate the soul that is united to Christ. It is all one empire; its several provinces acknowledge the same Sovereign; that Sovereign is ‘the Lord our Righteousness,’ who has all power in heaven and on earth; and the pillars of his throne must fall, before he will suffer a soul that has trusted in him to perish. How well his people are fortified against all possible want or suffering for the future, can be known only to those who have considered the resources of Omnipotence. In receiving them into a vital union with himself, Christ endowed them with his own inexhaustible wealth: they became ‘heirs of God and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ’—language which overpasses our comprehension, and makes one exclaim, in thinking of the believer’s heritage,

‘My soul, with all the powers I boast,
Is in the boundless prospect lost.’”

ART. III.—*Journal and Letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D., Fellow of St. John’s College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honorable East India Company.* Edited by the Rev. S. Wilberforce, M. A., rector of Brightstone. First American edition, abridged. New York: published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, 1851.

HISTORY has no nobler lesson to teach than the heights which human nature may attain in “glory and virtue,” when purified by the grace of God; and history furnishes scarcely any example of the moral sublime more impressive and pleasing than that which this book exhibits. Henry Martyn, crowned

with the highest academical honours, with the broad road to scientific eminence, professional distinction, and ecclesiastical preferment open before him—urged by valued friends to tread this tempting path, deliberately departing from it and from his native land for ever, and sundering a tie still more select, more tender, and more powerful—making the high sacrifice of a pure and a reciprocated affection—that he might preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in distant and burning India, presents a spectacle of the truest sublimity. How mean are all other conquests compared with the conquest of self! How despicable all earthly glory compared with that to which God in the gospel of his Son calls the very humblest of his faithful servants! How pale the lustre of the most honoured of the sons of men compared with that of the righteous, when they shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father! The successful general, returning in triumph to the metropolis of his country and the mistress of the world, with royal captives chained to his chariot wheels; Homer, with seven cities contending for the honour of having given him birth; Petrarch, receiving the envied poetic crown at the hands of his enthusiastic countrymen—these are all vulgar spectacles beside that of the lovely Martyn going forth to live and die for the spiritual interests of unknown heathen men! To be of the first is to be of the earth, earthy; to be the last, is to be like the Lord from heaven, who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we, through his poverty, might be rich.

We think the editor has done a good work in giving this volume to the public, and we are surprised that it has not excited a more decided interest. There is in it the presence of a delicate and delicious aroma, as of a field which the Lord hath blessed. A more truly spiritual and searching volume we have rarely, if ever, read. It might well be entitled a practical treatise on keeping the heart in the fear and love of God. It is the record of the spiritual life of one who was a burning and a shining light, and it informs us whence that precious oil was gotten, which caused his holy lamp to burn so brightly. The special value of the volume does not lie in any positive contribution to the stock of our missionary intelligence, but in the spirit of the book; in the faithful portraiture of a

highly accomplished, ardent, sensitive, and thoroughly conscientious young man, in his daily walk with God; in his minute and even microscopic self-inspection; in his anatomical dissection of his own heart, under the guiding light of the written word and the Holy Spirit. It is especially valuable as a practical illustration of the recognized marks and means of growth in grace. It is the Pilgrim's Progress, not in allegory, but in action. We therefore anticipate good, and only good, from its extensive circulation, and would especially recommend the prayerful perusal of it to ministers of the gospel and students of theology. Conversing with this truly humble and holy man, they will find many of their conflicts anticipated, many of their difficulties mastered, and many of the mysteries which have perplexed them satisfactorily solved.

Mortification of spirit, humility, tenderness, habitual self-recollection, and a holy fear of offending God, seem to have been his most conspicuous graces. There is, perhaps, less frequent mention of religious joy, especially in the earlier pages of the volume, than in most other biographical records of eminent believers. But Martyn, it should seem, was not naturally of a sanguine temperament, and he was too judicious and wise to confound joy in self with joy in God; he scrutinized his joys, and when he found that they were not pure, they were at once exchanged for godly sorrow. There cannot be much pure religious rejoicing without strict watchfulness preceding it. The heart is prepared, by careful cultivation, for the production or the access of that joy, which is not the growth of nature, but the fruit of the Spirit.

We know few books from which more deep and just observations on the working of the religious affections may be gathered, than from this. We are, therefore, not surprised to find Martyn frequently referring to Jonathan Edwards as a favourite author. This journal abounds with that subtle spiritual casuistry which is so characteristic not of Edwards alone, but of the great divines of the seventeenth century, and is unhappily so rare now; which imparts so peculiar a tone, and confers so high a value on the practical theological treatises of Baxter, of Bunyan, of Owen, and of Flavel. That every Christian should carefully keep his own heart, out of which are

the issues of life; that he should exercise a vigorous watch over his secret thoughts, feelings, and affections; that he should habitually refer them to the spiritual standard of the divine word, and learn thus to detect and discriminate what is evil, is evident from the word of God, and from the experience of all believers. In most modern preachers, hardly any quality is more conspicuously wanting, than that of a skilful and sagacious evolution of what is going on in the dark places of the human soul. There is assuredly no species of preaching more certain to interest, to impress, and to instruct the hearer.

In reading the journal and letters of Henry Martyn, we have been repeatedly reminded of Blaise Pascal. Both young men of extraordinary powers and fervent piety; both seemingly destitute of vulgar ambition, or rather raised above it by heaven-directed aspirations; both capable of attaining scientific or literary eminence, and if not positively disdainful of it, at least indifferent to it; both possessed of a natural temperament tinged with gloom, which, envenomed and darkened by superstition, led the one to self-inflicted austerities fatal to his life; but which was happily counteracted and relieved in the other, by clear views of the freeness and fulness of gospel grace; both not only perfectly honest, but painfully pathetic in the bitterness of their self-upbraidings. The early death and lasting reputation of each will complete the parallel. We cannot but regard these two men, of whom Pascal was incomparably the superior in the gifts of eloquence and genius, as illustrations of the practical tendencies of Popery and Protestantism. With great native benevolence, with extraordinary natural love of truth, with a comprehensiveness, fertility, and elegance of mind almost if not altogether unparalleled among his countrymen—embodied in a style of such clearness, vivacity, facility, force, and beauty, as to place him in the front rank of the many powerful and brilliant writers which France has produced—a style, which for grave irony, for piercing wit, for caustic sarcasm, and relentless ridicule, surpasses that of Voltaire—which as the vehicle of triumphant logic, of keen invective, of sublime fervour, and of learned demonstration, might have excited the envy of Bossuet—with a genius for mathematical science, scarcely if at all inferior to that of Leibnitz or

Newton—with an aptitude for universal knowledge more resembling intuitive apprehension than progressive attainment—with a mind not only impatient but apparently incapable of repose, and unconscious of weariness, what, after all, has Pascal accomplished? What has he left us? A few scattered thoughts of great originality, suggestiveness, depth, and beauty; a small polemical work of wonderful acuteness and eloquence, and of unanswerable truth. But what is this, from a man who was capable of extending the bounds of science, of making important contributions to the permanent stock of human knowledge—who, when quite a boy, actually *invented* Geometry, and proceeded as far as the thirty-second proposition of Euclid without a teacher and without a diagram—who was capable of making inestimable additions to the intellectual and spiritual treasures of mankind? Why did he accomplish so much and no more? Why was the man so much greater than his work? Because a contracted and benumbing superstition held those gigantic powers under a malignant spell—because the gospel was seen in dim eclipse “shorn of half its glory”—because, while powerfully attracted toward religion by nature and by grace, there was much in the religion in which he had been bred, and to which, “with all its faults,” he was still attached, to revolt his reason, to corrupt his conscience, and to repel his affections; because as his body was wasted away by fanatical austerities, so his spirit was darkened by horrible superstitions and habitual idolatry; because, in one word, he was a *Papist*.

We are of course perfectly aware that many of the Papists do not make much of their religion, as one of themselves was so communicative and candid as to tell us; that in general, they bear the burden very lightly; that the transition from the fast to the feast is as habitual and easy as from the chapel to the tavern or the theatre; and that to confess and compound for “a sin they are inclined to,” is hardly more troublesome than to commit it. But with the earnest and conscientious among them it is not so. The yoke under which they groan, is felt to be one which neither they nor their fathers have been able to bear; an enormous and intolerable system of spiritual servitude. Such Pascal found it. Strictly conscientious, even in his errors,

an erroneous conscience proved fatal to the highest exercise of his marvellous genius; to the enjoyment of his health; to peace of mind, and ultimately to life itself. Conscientious and consistent Papists are invariably unhappy. To us they have an air of peculiar and indescribable sadness; and the depth of their gloom is always in proportion to the depth of their piety. It is just the reverse with pious Protestants. The most cheerful persons we have ever known, have been aged and devout believers, with little in this life to make them happy, but sustained by an unfaltering trust in the righteousness of God; encompassed by clouds of natural evil, but those clouds burnished and bright with a glory streaming on them from the Sun of Righteousness; and as the lights of this life were going out one by one, a hope full of immortality has risen up to sustain and cheer them. Confiding only in the obedience and death of the Lord Jesus, looking back on a life unprofitable and unworthy indeed, but of upright and conscientious service, and looking forward to an inheritance "incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away," they have been able humbly and thankfully to unite in the testimony of the Apostle—"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

In the native cast of Martyn's mind, we think we discern a tendency to gloom, which manifested itself not only in a disparaging estimate of his Christian attainments, but in an undue depreciation of his natural abilities. Had he been in Pascal's circumstances he would probably have been as wretched a man, and instead of ending his life as a missionary in India, he might have ended it as a monk in a monastery. But a full knowledge of divine truth, the free air of Protestant teaching, untrammelled and unbiassed access to the word of life, saved his soul from the pain and the peril, and the Church from the calamity of such a misdirected conscientiousness, with its depressing effect on one of the most sublime and sensitive of human spirits.

Of all books the Bible, which is the only repository, the

divine charter, and the infallible rule, of the Protestant faith, is the most uniformly cheerful; it is a glorious manuscript, illuminated not by art and man's device, but by the bright beams of heaven's grace. It is a revelation of love, a proclamation of pardon, a word of life. What pictures of peace and pure delight adorn its pages, "apples of gold in pictures of silver!" It throws over the soul of man made naked by transgression, the white raiment of the Redeemer's righteousness; for the atonement is a covering; the Hebrew word *to atone for*, is *to cover*; and it pours into sorrowing hearts the golden oil of heavenly grace, the healing balm of holy gladness. Light from the word of God, shining on the tears of godly sorrow, makes them fragrant and bright, like the clear shining of the sun after rain! It is the gracious aspect, the cheerful spirit of the Bible, which renders it so incomparably grateful, so unspeakably precious, to the wounded heart. Even the penitential psalms breathe the spirit of hope, and trust, and pious joy; while the psalms of thanksgiving and praise rise to God with the buoyancy and gladness "of the bird that singing towards heaven's gate ascends." Everywhere removed from levity, the Bible is everywhere removed from gloom or moroseness. While it bears the impress of the individual character, the particular associations, and the natural genius of the human instruments employed to indite it—it is divinely guarded from all alloy of human error, and all taint of human corruption.

In the perusal of this work, we have been impressed anew with the value of human life, when dedicated to the good of men and the glory of God. It is indeed a grand and a fearful thing to live; to have a period of time on which our eternal well-being depends; to have a place and an agency, among other beings, redeemed, responsible and immortal, like ourselves. In the successive acts of Providence, and dispensations of religion, in this world, God is carrying on to its consummation and close, a drama, obscure it may be, and often ill-understood, but majestic and harmonious. To be one of the conscious, intelligent, accountable, and immortal actors, in this divine drama, is ennobling, but awful. We recognize the gift of life and immortality as the gift of God's grace, and we rejoice, but we rejoice with trembling. Because, for ourselves,

and for all men, the conclusion is everlasting; the catastrophe irreparable, immutable, infinite; an eternity of glory or shame ineffable; of joy or agony inconceivable.

The lessons of such a life as that of Henry Martyn can never be untimely, can never be obsolete. The permanence of the relations which men sustain to God, renders us capable of receiving instruction and comfort from the record of his dealings with others. We proceed with instinctive confidence upon the truth of God as exhibited in the uniformity of nature's processes, and in the stability of nature's laws. Universal confusion and endless embarrassment would ensue, if men were liable to disappointment in these familiar reckonings. Indeed, the continued existence of man upon the earth would be a simple impossibility, if he were perpetually exposed to delusion, in regard to the phenomena and laws of the planet on which he is appointed to live. Now, it is just so, in relation to the permanence and identity of the traits of human nature. Were it not essentially the same in its great outlines and tendencies, notwithstanding occasional anomalies and individual idiosyncrasies, each generation would stand insulated and apart; such a thing as history could have no existence; the lessons of one age could in no way be transmitted to another; there could be no permanence, no universality, in the practical conclusions of the race. As it is, however, the doctrines of religion, the precepts of morality, the demonstrations of science, and the truths of history, admit of permanent and universal application, simply because the nature of man is essentially the same, always and everywhere, and the relations he sustains are uniform and abiding. The word of God is therefore endowed with an inexhaustible fulness and fertility of application; and the exhortation to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ is as proper and pertinent when addressed to us, as when urged upon the primitive disciples.

In Henry Martyn, the missionary and the man were entirely identified. His travels, his studies, his controversies, his prayers, and manifold labours for the benefit and behoof of others, were directly the fruit of the living Spirit, the reigning habit of his own soul. His public and official life was pre-eminently the exponent of his hidden spiritual experience. The whole

tenor of his life, indeed, after his conversion, was an uninterrupted struggle after holiness of heart and conduct—after absolute conformity to the law of God in all its spirituality and extent. He strove diligently to have every thought brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ. His heart's desire and prayer was, that he might stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. Like the apostle, he counted not himself to have apprehended, but this one thing he did, forgetting those things which were behind, and reaching forth unto those things which were before, he pressed toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Growth in grace is a mark of grace, since it is an invariable characteristic of the true believer. The native tendency of grace, when it exists even in the smallest measure, and operates even in the feeblest manner, is expansion. In Scripture it is likened to light; to leaven; to the grain of mustard seed which became a great tree, so that the fowls of heaven lodged in the branches of it. In the heart of the individual believer it tends to expel every unholy affection, and reduce every rebellious thought to subjection to the authority of God.

In the organized forms of human society it seeks to penetrate their institutions, their objects, their operations, and their agents, with its own pure and holy spirit. The genius of Christianity is not less aggressive than salutary, and it is salutary because it is aggressive. I came, said our Lord himself, not to send peace on the earth, but a sword. The kingdom of Christ meets with separate and united opposition from corrupt nature, from an evil world, and from the snares and assaults of the devil. In such circumstances, its existence is a struggle; its increase, a triumph; its success, a miracle. Every man is, by nature, the enemy of the gospel. The power of God in subduing his enemies unto himself, and in keeping his people through faith unto salvation, is equal to that which made and upholds the world. And he will so order the events of his Providence, and so administer the helps of his good Spirit, that the faithful Christian shall be confirmed in holiness as he advances in life. He shall strive against sin with greater diligence. He shall strive after holiness with more abundant success. The righteous also shall hold on his way, and he that

hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger. The path of the just is as the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The self-deceiver may commence his course with more apparent vigour, animation, and zeal, than the true disciple, but having no root in himself, when temptation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended. The hypocrite may pray, to be seen of men, or under a strong and sudden pang of conscience, or when he fancies that he is about to die, but will he always call upon God? will he abound in prayer and supplication with thanksgiving? When his heart, oppressed by sluggishness and unbelief, is indisposed to this sweet work, will he regard this as a new call to confession of sin and supplication for grace? The true believer will endeavour to become a better man in every respect, day by day; and will make each new discovery of defect or transgression, the occasion, not only of humiliation, but of amendment. Nothing is more characteristic of Martyn's piety than the impartiality of his obedience. That golden psalm, the 119th, which seems to have been with him a favourite portion of the word of God, is happily expressive of the habitual frame of his spirit. The testimonies of God were his delight; he had taken them as his heritage for ever. He esteemed the divine precepts concerning all things to be right. It is an excellent mark of growth in grace, when we strive to discharge every duty and to mortify every corruption; and all who are really growing in grace, are growing thus harmoniously. The principle of piety works at all times and in respect to all subjects. The heart of the true believer has been graciously enlarged to run the way of the divine commandments. Some professed disciples are quite exemplary in the discharge of particular duties, but conspicuously defective in other graces and in other virtues, equally essential and obligatory. It becomes such partial observers of the law, to remember that excellence in certain departments of duty may be merely constitutional, as certain sins are constitutional. There is, therefore, no one evidence of growth in grace so discriminating and decisive as a general and harmonious excellence, an impartial obedience to the revealed will of God.

In the healthy growth of the body, there is a proportioned

development of all the parts. That growth which consists in an undue and enormous enlargement of one or more members, while the rest remain stunted and stationary, is diseased and abnormal. Now we conceive that the analogy between the bodily and spiritual growth is perfect. That soul cannot be said to be in spiritual health which is advancing in some of the appropriate graces of the Christian character, but declining with respect to others equally vital and valuable. The truth is, that a general development of all the parts of Christian character, is essential to the integrity of any one part. The exercise of one virtue is limited by the operation of another, in the absence of which it runs out into a wild and noxious excess, which is only less offensive to the eye, and injurious to the cause of Christ, than open vice. We may easily illustrate what is meant by reference to those virtues which most obviously demand the operation, one of another, to confine and correct the action of each respectively—as zeal and charity. Each of these has its proper province and its proper boundary. Unless each be kept in view, the exercise of one is apt to trench upon ground sacred to the other. A virtue, in itself considered excellent and noble, may yet be so ill-timed as to the occasion, and so unfortunate with reference to the object of its exercise, as to be productive of all the disastrous consequences of abject or abominable vice. A misdirected benevolence may be more hurtful to the object than malignity itself; and incautious and indiscriminating zeal may be more injurious to the cause it would serve, than active opposition.

Frequently meditating on the third and the thirty-third chapter of the prophesy of Ezekiel, and deeply impressed with the responsibilities of an ambassador for Christ, we find Martyn, like the apostle Paul, stirring up his soul to faithfulness, by the terrible reflection, that after having preached to others, he himself might be a cast-away. Men who are not striving to grow in grace can be considered neither safe nor happy. There is indeed no such thing as remaining stationary in the divine life. If we are not growing in spiritual strength and in spiritual stature, in favour and fellowship with God, in the graces which adorn and the virtues which exalt the Christian character; then are we declining in them all, becoming dwarfish and

deformed, departing from God, and, together with his favour, losing his likeness. Such persons must of necessity be insensible to the prevailing and peculiar charm of this book; they can have little sympathy with the spiritual life whose springs and streams it is the design of this publication to disclose. Conformed in temper to this world's maxims, and wearing the livery of the Prince of life, there is a wide difference between their religious calling and their real character; their profession as Christians, and their practice as men. At church and market, on the Sabbath and in the week, they are not the same persons. They have one set of principles as nominal Christians, and another as living, practical, business men. They recognize one code of morality as taught in the Bible, and act upon another in their common and commercial transactions; so that the inevitable conclusion is, the practical system inculcated in the Bible is not Christianity, or these men are not Christians. Christianity contemplates nothing less than the sanctification of the whole life, the invisible spirit within, and the outward conduct. Its office and purpose are disclosed in the apostolic injunction—"Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him."

It is the province of Christian principle to sway the whole man. It never suspends its functions. It never vacates its office. It never abates its demands. It is never dormant. It is never idle, but operates at all seasons, whether of business or diversion. It is present alike in the sphere of retired devotion and of active duty; it pervades and consecrates all our intercourse with God and with man. It imports the sanctities of heaven into the moralities of earth. Born of God and nourished up in faith and in sound doctrine, consisting ultimately and essentially in supreme love to God, and in the same love to our brother man which we bear to ourselves, and according to the testimony of an inspired apostle, ascending from the sweet consciousness of this heaven-born love to man, to the conclusion of a foregoing and far more exceeding love to God, ascertaining the sincerity and strength of our love to God by the tenderness and tenacity of our love to man, it places morality, philanthropy, all the serviceable and all the splendid social

virtues, not on the feeble basis of instinctive sentiment, but upon the strong foundation of religious principle, and blends in colours as inseparable and beautiful as those of the rainbow, the distinct but associated affections of love to God and of love to man; of faith and obedience; of devotional piety, and practical duty. Of this happy union we shall rarely find a more consistent, harmonious and exalted example than in the "Journal and Letters of Henry Martyn."

In the elevated character of the leading modern missionaries, in respect to intelligence, piety, and usefulness—of Brainard, of Eliot, and of the Mayhews in America; of Buchanan, of Swartz, of Carey, and of Martyn in India; of our own honoured, our martyred Lowrie, and a multitude of others in the east, we discern the good hand of our God affording thus an encouraging presage of ultimate success in the spiritual conquest of the world. It is delightful to see how good influences are propagated from man to man and from age to age; how the mantle of an Elijah falls upon an Elisha, how the light spreads in ever-widening circles, and how the promise is fulfilled, "there shall be a handful of corn in the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon: and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." Psalm lxxii. 16. We believe that a more holy, self-denying, and faithful body of men than the missionaries, foreign and domestic, of evangelical churches, are not to be found on the earth; and we have no language to express our disapprobation of the spirit which would restrict them to the barest necessities of life.

The grand prototype and pattern of the Christian missionary is Christ himself. There is indeed no more comprehensive and precious passage in all the Scripture than the simple statement, Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. With this motive and for this purpose he left the bosom of the Father, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.

Its completeness and its freeness distinguish the gospel not only from every system of false religion, but from every previous dispensation of the true. Still, it is to be acknowledged that frequent and significant intimations of a more liberal economy were given before the advent. Extraordinary messengers were

occasionally employed to warn the world of impending judgments. Noah was a preacher of righteousness to the men of his generation. Standing on that mount which was afterwards consecrated as the seat of Jehovah's temple, the father of the faithful received the joyful assurance that his spiritual seed should be more numerous than the stars of heaven or the sand on the sea-shore. Commissioned messengers from God solemnly rebuked his chosen people for their apostasies and oft-repeated idolatries. Priests served at the altar and prefigured the great sacrifice. Prophets foretold a more glorious dispensation under a universal king. But the God whom their priests sought to propitiate, was the peculiar God of their country. It is probable that their prophets did not themselves apprehend the full significance of their own predictions. It is certain that the apostles were amazed, perplexed, and offended, when it was obscurely intimated that those peculiar privileges which had for so many generations distinguished the children of the covenant, were to become the common heritage of all nations; and it was not until after the descent of the Holy Ghost that their proud anticipations as Jews were exchanged for the ampler charities of Christians, and the contracted sympathies of the patriot were merged in the more comprehensive affections of apostles to mankind.

We shall cease to manifest surprise at the prevalence of this feeling when we remember that their nation had been the elected and avowed favourites of heaven. To them were committed the oracles of God. To them pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law and the service of God, and the promises: whose were the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came. But by a continued course of infatuated wickedness they had alienated their God, and rendered themselves unworthy longer to occupy this high eminence. Instead of possessing a land flowing with milk and honey they were to be homeless wanderers; subject alike to the criminal oppressions of men and the righteous judgments of God. All their splendid distinctions were now to be abolished. The gorgeous solemnities of their temple service were to be succeeded by the simple rites of the gospel; and as if at once to consummate and proclaim their degradation

the glorious temple in which they had worshipped was destined at no distant period to be polluted by the presence of robbers, and profaned by the voice of blasphemy. The whole train of events, with reference to themselves and others, had been designed to prepare mankind for the last command of the risen Redeemer: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

The gospel literally signifies good news. Such it was declared to be when announced by the voice of angels to the shepherds on the plains of Bethlehem. Taken in its widest sense, it comprehends the whole counsel of God; all that ministers must preach; all that men generally must believe and practise. But more strictly and properly it denotes the doctrine of gratuitous salvation, on account of the righteousness of Christ, imputed to the believer and received by faith. To feel the full force of our Lord's command, to preach the gospel to every creature, it is necessary to consider the nature and design of the gospel. It is a revelation; a special communication from on high; an extraordinary intimation of the divine will, an articulate expression of the mind of God. Is it not evident that the design of such a communication would be defeated, if it were not delivered to those whom it contemplates and addresses? Who shall dare to intercept a message from God? Who would not rather press forward with strenuous energy and sacred zeal, to be the instrument and the channel of such a communication? But not only is it a revelation, it is a revelation of a most extraordinary kind; a revelation of mercy and grace—of mercy for the miserable, of grace for the undeserving. This we could not have anticipated without presumption, and cannot suppress without guilt. This could not have occurred to man in the highest and wildest excursions of his imagination. Angels are represented as bending from their heavenly thrones and gazing with insatiate wonder and ardent joy into this incomprehensible mystery. When the gospel was first proclaimed, it was with a symphony of heavenly voices, ascribing "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men." Time serves only to increase their wonder, and knowledge to exalt their song.

But since the law is holy and of perpetual obligation, it should seem that the more just and logical the reasonings of a sinner destitute of a revelation of grace, the more deplorable and hopeless must be his conclusion. Let us imagine an honest and intelligent heathen, feeling in his soul "the ineradicable taint of sin;" conscious that it has penetrated his whole nature; that he can no more escape from it than he can escape from himself. Whither, oh! whither shall he turn for help? What mortal voice can speak peace to his troubled conscience? A view of external nature, or the more marvellous constitution of his own mind and body, could not fail to afford him sure and varied evidence of God's goodness. But the same survey would show with equal clearness that sin is followed by suffering, and this not by an occasional coincidence, but with the uniformity of established law. Every argument out of the Bible that indicates the immortality of the soul, indicates an immortality of wretchedness. There is nothing in the article of death to change the relation of the soul to God; if the tree fall toward the south or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth there it shall lie. Accordingly, so far as the heathen have hope, it springs from false and degrading conceptions of the Divine Being, or from an equally delusive and exaggerated estimate of their own merit.

It is not the province of reason to anticipate God's method of salvation; but to admire, and extol, and embrace it. Reason has nothing to do with a plan of grace previous to its publication; reason has to do only with the essential attributes of God. The essential attributes of God are those which belong to him as God, which he must have possessed and exercised had no creature been formed and no sin committed; among these attributes, holiness, justice, and truth shine with conspicuous and severe lustre.

While, therefore, such reflections show the utter incompetency of reason to discover or devise a plan of salvation for sinners, they illustrate the incomparable grace of God which could make the estate of sin and death, into which we had fallen, the occasion of developing a new trait in Deity. For, from eternity, this most amiable attribute of grace had reposed in the inmost recesses of the divine mind with calm and conscious

energy; not revealed for the rescue of the fallen angels, but in the fulness of time made manifest for the redemption of the world by the gift of his only Son. If the human mind had been capable of contriving a scheme by which a holy God could be reconciled to sinful men, why was it not produced for four thousand years? Why was it not proposed by some of those ancient and illustrious sages, whose business and glory it was to speculate on the nature of God and the destinies of men? Why do we see the wisest of their number oppressed with conscious want, and impelled by a vague and sublime desire of true knowledge, indulging the hope that some future Teacher would arise to declare the truth with infallible certainty, and enforce it with a divine sanction? Reason and revelation reply with united voice, that when the "world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe."

We should then preach the gospel, because if not preached, it will not be known, and we should send it to the uttermost ends of the earth, because it is the only and appointed means of salvation. "For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth. He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them out of all their distresses." From these and many similar passages, we conclude that divine truth is the instrument which God employs in renewing and saving men. There cannot, therefore, be a more melancholy token of a corrupt and declining church, than a disposition to underrate the preaching of the gospel, and to exalt any Christian institution however sacred in disparagement of it. The gospel is indeed invested with an excellent glory, but only spiritual eyes can discern it. It is vocal with sweet and celestial melodies, but they are audible to those only whose ears have been "unstopped." God might now make known the gospel by the ministry of angels. He might dazzle and subdue the nations in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, by an overwhelming display of his terrible majesty and invincible grace. But it has pleased him to employ the agency of men, and the instrumentality of revealed and recorded truth. "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight."

If, therefore, we would inherit eternal life, we must not only receive the gospel ourselves, but communicate it to others. We must not only possess and obey, but defend and propagate the truth. For this purpose was the Church organized. For this has she been sustained, notwithstanding the malice of her enemies and the unfaithfulness of her friends. This is the character by which she is known. It is a mark by which God denotes her, and which can never deceive us. The Church is the pillar and ground of the truth. To what higher destiny; to what more congenial work could she be called? By what more august and magnificent title could she be known? What ultimate end so worthy as the glory of God? What immediate object so important as the salvation of men? If all the praises with which the enamoured votaries of profane philosophy have adorned her were concentrated in one splendid panegyric, how would they fail to express the excellence of divine philosophy, the supreme and celestial wisdom of the gospel! How does this doctrine, which brings life and immortality to light; which reveals the only way of salvation, deserve to be magnified and published! These doctrines are to be maintained and inculcated mainly through the preaching of the gospel. Pastors are the appointed stewards of these spiritual treasures; and it is with particular reference to her office as the repository of that truth which is the image of the divine glory, the light of the world, the salvation of men, that the apostle designates the Church by a title so splendid. It is hers to preserve this truth pure and sincere in her teaching; to send it to all the world by her ministers; and hand it down from age to age, in solemn sacramental symbols.

In strictest accordance with these views, the whole history of the Church, from the first hour of her organization to the present, shows that when she has been pure, she has been progressive; and that her real prosperity has been in exact proportion to her real extension. We have not time to trace her history minutely through each intervening period; much of it would excite feelings of mingled shame and sadness. But in less than thirty years after the ascension of its divine Author, the gospel had been spread over the greater part of Europe and Asia. It had been preached in all the more important cities of the Roman

empire, at Corinth, at Ephesus, at Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Athens, and at Rome. No dangers could dismay the apostles and primitive preachers. They suffered no impediments to stop the progress of the truth. In their work of mercy, they stooped to the meanest, and stood unabashed before the greatest of the sons of men. The same individual who could intercede for the slave Onesimus, trembled not when brought before the Jewish Sanhedrim, or the Roman judgment-seat; and dared to denounce idolatry amid the most imposing monuments of Athenian superstition. The apostles possessed the spirit of their crucified Lord, and they did not count their lives dear unto themselves. They had made their election freely, and they knew what it involved. Their time, their talents, their treasure, their blood, all were ready to be offered up for the furtherance of the gospel. They walked by faith, not by sight, as seeing Him who is invisible. They believed the promises of God. They anticipated the retributions of eternity. They had confidence in their cause, and their cause triumphed, not by the achievements or the sufferings of men, but by the power and blessing of God. Barbarous tribes were refined and subdued by this gospel. Polished and corrupt cities were reformed and purified. The Corinthian laid aside his licentiousness, and the Roman his ferocious pride. Much of this astonishing success is doubtless to be attributed to the miraculous gifts conferred on the apostles, and the irresistible evidence of their divine mission, which the exercise of them afforded. But in general they had to encounter the same enemies and employ the same weapons with which their successors have had to contend. Opposition to the truth was as bitter then as it is now. False brethren deserted and betrayed them. Pagan priests calumniated, and Pagan princes oppressed them. They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented. But persecution served only to exalt their courage; to purify their zeal to disseminate their doctrines, and multiply their conquests.

Upon the missionary element incorporated in the constitution of the Church, and in the apostolic commission, we may construct a conclusive argument for the divine origin of the

gospel system. When we remember the notorious character of the Jews, their inveterate prejudices, their narrow nationality, it is impossible to believe that they could have originated a system so grand, so universal. Such an event would be contrary to all analogy, and to all experience. The religion of their fathers was peculiar and exclusive. It discountenanced all foreign commerce. It expressly forbade all foreign alliances. They esteemed the very soil of Israel so sacred, that when they returned from heathen countries they were accustomed to wipe the dust from their feet. It is, perhaps, difficult for us to appreciate the feelings of a Jew of that period. They regarded the men of other countries not as foreigners whose society was degrading, but as sinners whose touch was pollution. Their national and religious bigotry was a fruitful subject of reproach and ridicule to the profane wits of classic antiquity. Nor were the apostles exceptions to the general character of the nation. They were not philosophers, whose minds had been expanded, and enriched and adorned by elegant studies and generous pursuits. They were not gentile princes, but Jewish fishermen; not accomplished Greeks, but illiterate Galileans; and Christ himself, though by lineage the son of David, and by nature the Son of God, was yet the reputed son of a carpenter; the scene of his birth a manger, the instrument of his death a cross! But if the bare conception of such a pure, elevated, and universal system proves it divine, how is that proof augmented and brightened by its successful propagation in a period of general intelligence, and among people with whose cherished opinions it conflicted, and whose familiar practice it condemned!

Since the gospel is the appointed means of salvation, intended for all and adapted to all, our estimate of the gospel, and our love to God may be measured by our zeal to impart it. Unlike earthly treasures, it is not lessened by participation. Send it to every creature, and you will yourself possess it in richer abundance and purer exercise. Its native tendency is expansion. Like the light of heaven—like the air we breathe, it is free, general, vigorous, diffusive. Seek to appropriate it exclusively, and you lose it entirely. Confine or contract it, and you change its nature. It is no longer the gospel, and

you are no longer a Christian Church. You may have all the ordinances of Christ's appointment, but you have not the spirit of Christ. The body may remain; but the life-blood has ceased to circulate; the preserving, pervading, animating soul is gone. The temple may be still standing, but it is forsaken of its God; the altar has no sanctifying gift; the precious incense has escaped; the sacred lights are extinguished, and the mystic response is heard no more. In one aspect of the subject we have everything to depress and alarm us. To the eye of man, the gospel triumph is, perhaps, not less distant now than it was sixteen hundred years ago. There remaineth much land to be possessed. Had the Church continued to exercise apostolic faith and zeal, the world would have been converted long since. These are facts which we cannot deny, and should not conceal. Let the humiliating retrospect incite us to greater diligence. In another point of view we have everything to animate and cheer. For the space of more than half a century the attention of the Christian Church has been particularly directed to this enterprise; and her success has been such as to invite and reward her efforts. Extensive and populous countries have recently received the gospel; and others are now accessible which a few years ago were barred to missionary approach. What we now need, what we now pray for, is an influence from on high, at home and abroad. A divine power is indispensable to produce a permanent and salutary impression. Let but the fire from heaven descend upon the churches, and consecrated wealth will flow out from a thousand unsuspected sources. Effectual, fervent prayer, rising from a thousand devout and grateful hearts, will draw down a blessing that maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow with it. Let the Spirit of the Lord descend in plenitude and power on our theological seminaries, on our ministry, and on our people, and multitudes of soldiers of the cross, single-hearted as Martyn, self-devoted as Lowrie, will gladly dedicate themselves to this arduous but exalted service.

ART. IV.—*Theology in Germany.*

It is Hagenbach who compares the most recent period of German Church History to a garden, not in the style of the French gardens in the time of Louis XIV., nor like an old venerable grove, whose tall firs and sturdy oaks cast their shade upon the monuments of the Reformation, but a modern garden, skilfully laid out with artificial winding walks and perplexing paths, which to many a one have become a very labyrinth. In aspect and effect it is unlike anything known before. What was previously dark and covered with brushwood, we now find cleared; what was previously impenetrable, we now find broken through; what appeared insurmountable, we find a plain; but then, we find also many a previous height leveled in the wrong place, many a flowery parterre wantonly destroyed, many a fruitful tree felled to the ground, many a woodland songster frightened and driven away. On the other hand, however, hope-inspiring nurseries, newly planted groves, superbly laid out grounds, beauties unknown before meet our eye. And what is most remarkable, all this did not arise under the careful hand of an industrious gardener; it is not a result produced by a calculating, scheming human mind. Fearful storms, which wait not man's command, nor stay at his bidding, broke through the ill-guarded hedges, and thus swept away also what was kept with greater care; volcanoes poured out their long pent-up fires; with vengeful fury flowed the stream of lava over many a smiling field. But at the same time, healing springs, equally out of man's power, were opened, and bright and cheering sunbeams are become the harbingers of a new epoch, and at a higher behest than man's there arose creations from the chaos, whose germ lay hid in the unconscionable ages of the past. The American and the French revolutions were not the only ones of their times. Parallel with the undulations of the latter's waves, there ran manifold revolutions in the realms of philosophy, of literature, of education, of religion, of the Church, and of theology, and it is these very revolutions that constitute the history of Protestantism during this period.

He, therefore, who would understand the condition of the

Church, the whole Protestant Church, or at least the Church in Germany, during the time immediately preceding our days, must not conceive it enclosed by walls and palisades, which shut in the view, nor must he neglect any means by which his eye can obtain a free perspective, or else he will behold nothing but a miserably ruined structure with its walls much decayed; he will walk in a church-yard full of rottenness and dead men's bones, with here and there a lonely cross barely visible through the rank weeds, or a solitary monument with effaced inscription. No; he must raise his view higher. Beyond the ruins, beyond the crumbling walls, beyond the sightless skulls, he must turn with prophetic eye to those temples which seemed to be altogether the works of "the spirit of the world," which, at first sight, have more of a heathen than a Christian look, which remind him more of the graceful classic forms of Grecian art, than of the cloistered walks and Gothic stone-devotions of the Middle Ages. He must listen to the voices that preach, but not in the language of the desk—to the voice of the poet and the philosopher, the enlightener and the reformer, in good or evil sense; he must set his foot in places which have by no means the appearance of church-yards, and yet go to form that wide space which, in God's wise counsel, represents the sacred enclosure around his holy temple.

To understand the *theology* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we must be acquainted with the contests in the field of *philosophy*, which have taken place during this period; at least so far that the most agitated questions in theology may not seem to hang on nought. To give a concise and intelligible account of this connection of theology and philosophy, and of the influence of the latter upon the former, as apparent during the last half century, we have selected a few passages from Kurtz's Church History,* as presenting by far the most lucid view and candid judgment of the subject, which we have met with in an equally brief space. Kurtz is an orthodox Lutheran, without any decided bias towards that new party in Germany which may be called the High Lutheran. Before he published the different editions of his Church History, he had become

* Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Von J. H. Kurtz, Prof. zu Dorpat. Zweite Aufl. Mitau, 1850.

known to the theological world by his "Bible and Astronomy," the first volume of a "History of the Old Covenant," and a number of dissertations, mostly on Old Testament subjects, such as the Mosaic Sacrifice, the Tabernacle, the Significance of Numbers, etc., all of which insure for him a place in the first rank of living theologians. Called to Russia as director of a gymnasium, he wrote a "Sacred History," and a "System of the Christian Religion," both intended for higher schools; these have gone through a number of editions. In his Church History he has condensed within a very small space a great amount of the most valuable information, respecting the progress of the Church, in a style which is simple and natural, and a manner at once clear, pithy, suggestive, warm, and full of faith. He takes his stand in the very centre of a written revelation, and thus sees all things in their true light, and in correct outline. He has made himself master of the immense material before him, and selected what is most necessary and most valuable. The work is of an even texture; it is not easy to say that he has shown greater favour or paid more attention to one portion than to another; it is as rich in the treatment of the first ages as of the latest times. It is true, he cannot well be mistaken for any thing else but a Lutheran, for he nowhere conceals the sentiment that *his* church is in all points greatly to be preferred to the Reformed, nor is he at all favourable to the "Union." The Lutheran Church, he thinks the purest, strongest, richest, because she contains all the treasures of true catholicity, which the Church has gathered in its early Greek-Roman form, together with all the experiences and results of the middle ages. She holds the true central position between materialism and spiritualism, between a servile objectivity and an arbitrary subjectivity, that is, between the Romanists and the Reformed. In a long "explanation" (which, were it fair, one might almost think was got up for the sake of the anti-thesis,) he endeavours to enforce the above proposition. This central position, he would have us know, may be discerned in the very view she holds of the nature of Christianity. The nature of Christianity is the union of the divine with the human, in the person of Christ as the original type, then in the Scriptures, in the Church, the sacraments, the Christian life, etc.

Now, the radical difference between the three Churches lies in the mode of conceiving of this union. The desire of the Romish Church is to *see* it, of the Lutheran to *believe* it, of the Reformed to *understand* it(!) The Romish Church *identifies* the divine and the human, the Reformed *separates* them, the Lutheran Church holds them together. So, in her view of the Church, the Romish Church regards the mere human element as divine; hence there is no salvation out of the external and visible Church as such; so in the history of its merely human development, hence it is viewed as an *opus operatum*, and hence the doctrine of transubstantiation; so in the priesthood, hence the hierarchy; so in sanctification, hence semi-pelagianism and righteousness by works, etc. The opposite mistake is committed by the Reformed Church. She conceives the agency of the divine on the human as altogether spiritual, and effected by subjective faith. Hence she (!) regarded even the Hebrew vowel-points and accents as inspired, on the one hand, and rejected all tradition as not from God, on the other. In the Scriptures the spirit was frequently insisted upon to the injury of the letter; in her view of the Church, the invisible was raised so as to sink the visible into utter insignificance; the human nature of the exalted Redeemer was excluded from full personal participation in all the attributes of the Deity; in the sacraments, the divine grace was separated from the earthly element; in the doctrine of predestination, the divine predetermination from human self-determination, etc. The Lutheran Church avoids all these extremes, of course.

Still, these exclusive Lutheran views do not obtrude themselves too frequently; and candour in the estimation of others' merits is certainly among the last things to be denied to Kurtz.

The first edition of this "text-book" was published in 1849, and followed by the second greatly enlarged edition within less than a year; this, too, has been out of print for some time. In 1852 he published an abridgment for the use of the higher classes in the gymnasia, which was hailed with joy. He is now engaged in writing what he calls the third edition of his History, which is really, however, a new work; the "text-book" has become a "manual." It is intended to be in two volumes; the first section of the first volume has appeared; its full title

is: "Manual of Universal Church History, by Dr. Joh. Heinr. Kurtz, Ord. Professor at Dorpat, Ord. Member of the Historico-Theological Society in Leipzig. Third edition, entirely rewritten. Vol. I. Previous History, Primitive History, and History of the Progress of the Church in the Form of Antique Classical Culture. First Section: To the Victory of Christianity over Roman-Greek Heathenism. Mitau, 1853. pp. 331."

The stages through which the Church is shown in the first volume to have passed, are comprehended by the author in the following words: "The objective-divine substance of salvation, having cast off the judaistic husk in which the kernel had come to maturity, had been delivered to the Roman-Greek world for subjective-human appropriation and perfection by means of *those* formative elements which had here come to maturity. Hence *the* prominent feature in the Church-historical character of this age, is, *negatively*, the overcoming of the non-divine substance of Greek-Roman heathenism by the spirit of Christianity, and *positively*, the development of the latter in the forms of *Greek-Roman culture*. The result of this process is the transformation of the apostolicity of the Church into pure *catholicity*, in which there is contained the common basis of all subsequent churches. By going through this process the ancient Church has completed her task. The formative powers of the ancient Greek-Roman world are exhausted, and the development of the Church has been carried to that degree (and it is a high degree) to which that world was capable and called to advance it; the prospect of the Church now lies with the new nations of Germanic and Slavic descent. Whilst the Byzantine empire, and with it the glory of the old Oriental Church are threatened by Islam, there arises in the West a new empire in youthful vigour, and becomes the bearer of a new phase in the progress of the Church. Whilst here, active and successful, she strives on towards a new culminating point, she there sinks amid external pressure and internal weakness, deeper and deeper, until at last the downfall of the Latin empire in the East deprives her of the last prop of her splendour and her vitality. Thus closes also externally the history of the Church in its antique classical form. For the remains of the Eastern Church, under the oppression of the Turk, were

scarcely capable of any history." This grand view it has been observed, is certainly apt to preserve the author from many arbitrary constructions, and that unwarranted pragmatism of which not a few German historians are constantly guilty.

To those of our readers who are less acquainted with German literature, the following sketch may also serve as a classification of the names we most frequently meet with in our theological reading. The apparent violations of chronological order arise from the nature of the work which discusses the various topics of each period singly in separate sections; the same apology may be made for the seeming repetitions, inasmuch as the same name may become prominent in more than one department.

Semler, who is justly considered the father of German Rationalism, was by no means aware of the avalanche of error which the sound of his voice would precipitate over the Christianity of his country. Himself reared in the pietism of Halle, he was never able entirely to lose an habitual belief in the religion of his teachers, and never really assailed Christianity itself. Nevertheless, as he had acquired a perfect chaos of knowledge, and as he was possessed of extraordinary talents and great acumen, though destitute of all depth, he undermined the pillars on which the theology of his church rested, by arbitrarily denying the genuineness of different parts of Scripture, by setting up a theory of inspiration and accommodation which admitted the existence of mistakes, misunderstandings, and well-meant deception in the Bible, and by a treatment of the history of the Church, which viewed her doctrines as the result of misconception, stupidity, and violence. He sowed wind, and reaped a whirlwind, of which he was himself afraid. Hence, he resisted so resolutely the appointment of the scurrilous and immoral neologist Bahrddt to a professorship in Halle, and, urged by the same indistinct motive, he opposed so forcibly the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, written by Reimarus, professor in Hamburg, and edited by Lessing, which endeavoured to prove that Christianity was based on fraud. It was too late however. From the school of Semler proceeded the heroes of Vulgar Rationalism, a Teller, a Löffler, a Gabler; and he himself died of a broken heart (1791). At this time the philosophy of Kant

began to exert its powerful influence, which must be called good as far as it relates to the rationalistic theology.

The prominent representatives of the latter, who at the same time formed connecting links with the succeeding period, were Gesenius in Halle for the Old Testament, the "rational believer,"* Paulus in Heidelberg for the New Testament (with rare ingenuity he explained all Christ's miracles as quite natural occurrences;) Wegscheider in Halle for the department of systematic theology (his *Dogmatik* is dedicated *piis manibus Lutheri*;) for that of Church History, Spittler, Henke, and the *Generalsuperintendent* Röhr in Weimar, whose popular "Letters on Rationalism," set up the characteristic doctrine that only a man with "the fortune of a farmer-general," could resign an office incompatible with his convictions.

Between the old orthodoxy and this modern Rationalism, there existed at the same time a third theological tendency, denominated Supranaturalism, which, though abandoning the former, endeavoured to maintain a belief in a supernatural revelation. With many of these so-called supranaturalists, this belief was of a particularly weak description; they believed in a revelation which hardly revealed anything more than what reason could discover without aid. Besides these, however, there was a considerable number of worthy men, who exerted themselves in full earnest to save the essential doctrines of redemption; and it is characteristic of all these that they, although they all belonged to the Lutheran Church, yet adhered to the principles of the Reformed† Church, at least in their general views of the Scriptures and of the Church. During this whole period the University of Tübingen was, with constancy, the nursery of supranaturalism. Among the theologians of this better tendency, the most eminent were Storr in Tübingen, Knapp in Halle, Reinhard in Dresden, in the field of Systematic Theology; the great mathematician Euler, Haller the physiologist, and the theologians Lilienthal, Klenker, and

* *Der "Denkglaubige."* In 1825, Paulus commenced a periodical under that name.

† It is at the same time characteristic of the position of the writer, that he considers this adherence a serious lapse.

Köppen, as apologetic writers; Schröckh in Wittenberg, and Planck in Göttingen, as church-historians.

The influence which "Vulgar Rationalism" was at that time exerting, was not due to its intrinsic strength, but to the allies which it had in the heartless, hollow, shallow, frivolous spirit of the age. But when philosophy, and especially the national literature of Germany, began their successful contest against this frivolity, they assumed, to a certain extent, the character of a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, although in themselves they were either entirely indifferent, or even hostile to Christianity. The same thing may be asserted of Immanuel Kant's Critical Philosophy. He showed that a knowledge of supersensible objects was not attainable by pure reason, but that the ideas of God, liberty, and immortality, were postulates of the practical reason (the conscience), and thus constituted the principle of all religion, the essence of which was merely the moral law. Christianity and the Bible, as they had withal acquired a certain value in being the foundation of popular education and instruction, ought to be retained, but they ought to be fructified by a moral interpretation and a corresponding exposition. Whilst he thus sympathized, on the one hand, with rationalism, on the other he vigorously opposed its shallowness and self-complacency. His acute "Critique of Pure Reason," the profound view of human inability and depravity, displayed in his doctrine concerning the origin of evil, his *categorical imperative* of the moral law, were well fitted to awaken in thoughtful minds a despair of self, disgust at the strutting shallowness of the times, and a feeling of want, which Christianity alone could fully satisfy.

F. H. Jacobi, "in his heart a Christian, in his head a heathen," brought religion back from the realm of naked reason to the depths of the soul's life, and though this was but a small advance, yet it was apt to awaken a longing after something positive.

J. G. Fichte (who died in 1814), transformed the philosophical system of Kant, to which he had paid unconditional homage at first, into his *idealistic "Doctrine of Science,"* which assumes the only real existence to be, man conscious of his own identity; and that all that is not himself, only receives real existence by

his giving it to it (which is done by the very same act of judgment by which he arrives at the conclusion, "*I am I*,") and hence the world and nature are what they are only as the reflex of man's mind. Whilst spinning this web from his own speculative bowels, Fichte was charged with atheism, and lost his place in Jena. This event produced an intellectual revolution in him, which snatched him from the brink of atheism, and led him on the path of mysticism, nearer to Christianity. In his "*Directions for a Life of Blessedness*," he denied that religion was a mere handmaid of morality, and endeavoured to show that true happiness consists in a loving surrender of the whole soul to the spirit of the universe, and he regarded the gospel of John as the most perfect expression of such a surrender. Paul's religion, however, with its fundamental doctrines of sin and an atonement, appeared to him to be a degenerate system, and Christ himself merely the most perfect representative of the incarnation of God, which is repeated in all ages, and in every pious man. Towards the very end of the eighteenth century, Schelling appeared on the stage with his *Philosophy of Identity*, which became one of the most powerful levers for the introduction of a new epoch.

The horrors of the French revolution had shown what would be the fate of the modern world without God, and without Christianity. The despotism of that new scourge of God, Napoleon, had directed hearts and eyes up to Him, from whom alone help could be expected; the enthusiastic wars of independence had been waged in confidence in this assistance, and the victories in 1813 and 1815, had gloriously justified this confidence. Princes and people were filled with gratitude towards God. Alexander, Francis, and Frederic William, who were, at the same time, representatives of the three great divisions of the Christian Church, settled the political condition of Europe by the Congress of Vienna, and entered into the compact known under the name of the "*Holy Alliance*." Its purport was a declaration on the part of the contracting powers, that the Christian doctrine of brotherly love should be the rule of conduct to be observed by the nations as branches of one family, and by the sovereigns as the fathers of those nations. "To disregard the disagreement of their creeds, and to make

Christianity the highest law of the nation's life," was the avowed object of the holy league, which was entered into by all the sovereigns of Europe, with the exception of the Pope, the Sultan, and the King of England. Among the people, too, there appeared a religious ferment, although that which sixty years had been demolishing, could not arise again in a day. In poetry and philosophy, in theology and in the Church, in the whole intellectual life of the people, heterogeneous elements, old and new, were mingling in a chaotic mass. Their disengagement was gradual. The restoration of the papacy in 1814, had created a fresh enthusiasm for ultramontane catholicism. Then Protestantism experienced a similar invigoration in 1817, through the third centennial celebration of the Reformation. Afterwards a hasty attempt at uniting the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, which seemed to entirely ignore their points of difference, brought these churches to a fuller consciousness of their individual existence. Old sects began again to recede from each other, and new sects arose. Thus ecclesiastical and religious variances were increased and made more prominent, whilst every form of Christianity, and the whole Church, was met by a bold and undisguised Antichrist, in the shape of Socialism and Communism, of political and religious libertinism.

During this period philosophy exerted a powerful influence upon the doctrines and the morals of Germany. Whilst the philosophical basis of Rationalism could not go beyond the limits of Kant's system, the form as well as the substance of the other theological tendencies were more or less determined by the efforts and results of Kant's successors. Schelling's philosophy of identity (or philosophy of the absolute) proceeded from Fichte's Idealism, and in its progress it assumed the form of a *philosophy of nature*, which was essentially pantheistic. He had learnt from Fichte that the universe was a nonentity without mind, but he inverted the relation. Whilst Fichte awarded reality to the universe only so far as man seizes and pervades it by his spirit, and thus creates its real existence; according to Schelling, spirit is nothing but the life of nature (that is, they are identical, or rather the two poles of the same phenomenon.) In the lower stages of natural vitality the spirit is

still slumbering and dreaming, but in man it has attained to self-consciousness. The totality of this life of nature, or the soul of the world, is God. Man is the reflex of God, or a world in miniature—a microcosm. In the development of the world (that is, in history) God attains to objective reality and arrives at self-consciousness; Christianity is seen to be a turning-point in the world's history; its fundamental doctrines of a revelation, of the trinity, the incarnation, and an atonement, are considered as so many profound guesses and attempts at the solution of the problem which the universe offers. Schelling's vivid, poetical ideas began to pervade every branch of science and gave them a new and unprecedented impulse. The prevalent rationalistic theology, however, regarded it as an abomination. This hatred was requited with derision and contempt on the part of philosophy, whilst the younger race of theologians derived a new and vigorous vital element from it. Daub, the profound theologian of Heidelberg, was the first and most prominent man that constituted a connection between it and theology, although he inclined afterwards more to Hegel's views.

Hegel bears a relation to Schelling similar to that in which the latter stands to Fichte; for he transformed Schelling's pantheistic philosophy of nature into a pantheistic philosophy of *spirit*. His principal tenet was, that it is not in the life of nature, but rather in the thinking and acting of the spirit of man that God appears as revealed; which revelation is nought but the development of God's self-consciousness from non-existence to existence, that is, from mere potential existence as essence, to an actual existence as a reality. Judaism, Heathenism, and Christianity are the progressive stages of development in the process of revelation; Judaism is far below classical Heathenism, whilst Christianity is the perfect religion, though only in the low form of *conception*, which philosophy must raise into the form of *knowledge*.* This theory raised once more the doctrine of the Protestant Church, (as to its

"The idea of creation, of providence, of human freedom, or of moral evil, of retribution, aye, and of spiritual regeneration, all of them involve *conceptions*, which can only be evolved into highest brightness by the intense application of the *reason* upon them; that is, by the co-operation of *philosophy* in the elucidation of divine truth."—*Morrell's Hist. of Philos.* p. 741.

form, at least) to an honourable standing; and when Marheineke again constructed a speculative system of theology, on the basis of this philosophical system, out of the scholastic form of the then Lutheran orthodoxy; when Göschel, the jurist, a man of profound genius, showed in his writings that a heartfelt, pietistic religion might go hand in hand with Hegel's tenets; when similar indications were often perceived that this system was *not* hostile to Christianity, the illusion was cherished for a time that it had at last effected the long-sought reconciliation between theology and philosophy. But after the master's death, which took place in 1831, a sudden change took place. The school of Hegel was split into two parties: the one orthodox, and endeavouring to carry out his tendencies in a direction favourable to religion; the other, by far larger in number, heterodox (or "Young-Hegelian,") their foothold on his fundamental views of philosophy, despising Christianity as a long obsolete form of conception, and proceeding to the most bare-faced self-deification, and adoration of the human mind (Anthropotheism.) In 1835 David Strauss published his *Life of Christ*, which represents the narrative contained in the gospels as the result of ideal myths. Bruno Bauer who veered round from the right to the extreme left of the school of Hegel, represented the same narrative as the product of a clumsy and awkward deception; and after Strauss had volatilized all distinctively Christian doctrines in his *System of Belief*, Ludwig Feuerbach positively proclaimed the new gospel of self-adoration, as being "the Essence of Christianity," whilst Arnold Ruge endeavoured to obtain a paramount place for the new doctrine in the social and political relations of life. Until now the Rationalists had been derided by these Young-Hegelians as "antediluvian theologians," but at this stage of the intellectual ferment these modern philosophers joined those antediluvians (who, in the meantime, had assumed the name of "Friends of Light,") in order to gain a firmer position in practical life. In the recent revolutions, Ruge and some of his friends were among the advocates of a republican communism.

Schelling, who had been silent during nearly thirty years, and had raised his previous pantheism into a Christian gnosticism, took possession of Hegel's chair in Berlin, in 1841, as

his avowed opponent; but his dualistic Doctrine of Potencies, which proclaimed itself as the at length discovered true and philosophical view of positive Christianity, effected nothing but a transitory paroxysm among the younger generation of theologians. The most prominent adherent whom Schelling gained in this second phase of his philosophy (but before he came to Berlin,) is the excellent jurist, Stahl, whose independent genius constructed a decidedly Christian "Philosophy of Law," on the foundation of which he based and defended the idea of a "Christian State."

Schelling's profound views gained a real importance, because they were not confined to the metaphysical tendencies of the age, but imparted a new breath of vitality to the sciences also. The natural sciences especially were extensively under their influence. At first, of course, much vagueness and many ill-defined *notions* were the result, but the mist cleared off little by little, and the Christian mode of viewing nature was freed from its pantheistic alloy. Heinrich Steffens, a man of genius, and to a far greater extent, G. F. von Schubert, a scholar of sound judgment, wonderful penetration, and deep feeling, taught that God's book of nature must be investigated and understood as the counterpart and complement of his revelation in the Scriptures. Akin to these two men in spirit was Fr. von Meyer, senator of Frankfort, whose theosophy, drawn from the Scriptures and meditation, made great advances towards a more profound comprehension of the divine mysteries in nature and history.

Hegel's philosophy too, appeared at first to have a tendency to enrich science with profound and Christian views; at least Göschel, one of its representatives, surrounded the science of jurisprudence with a halo of Christianity and vindicated Christianity juridically. The general effect, however, of his philosophy in its application to the sciences was to superinduce an abstruse dialectical tendency. His disciples on the extreme left went so far as to attempt to construe all sciences *a priori* from the pure *Begriff*, and to banish from them at the same time the last reminiscences of the spirit of Christianity. Nevertheless, during this period, the sciences experienced the influence of Christianity in a manner more decided than ever before, and it

is a characteristic phenomenon that whilst previously the Christian spirit of scientific men had hardly any influence upon their particular departments, now there was an open determination on the part of such men to effect a union, as it were, of mind and heart, so that their specific branches of knowledge should be thoroughly pervaded by the spirit and principles of Christianity, and thus assume a new shape and form.

Independent of every school of the times, but of a decidedly philosophical bent, we see Schleiermacher (he died in 1834,) renovating and ruling the whole department of theology by his tremendous influence. His Moravian education had imparted to him an inextinguishable, intense, personal devotion to the Redeemer, whilst he derived from his connection with the Reformed Church, a judgment which was clear and penetrating, whether directed to theory or to life. The essence of religion, according to him, is a feeling of absolute dependence; the doctrines of redemption he deduced from this feeling as pervaded by the spirit common to all Christians; and this feeling, in the consciousness of its own abundance and security, could submit to a rigorous analysis and a severe criticism, not only the doctrines contained in the creed of the Church, but also the canon of Scripture, as well as the gospel-accounts of the beginning and termination of the life of Christ (his birth and ascension). Many of the pupils and friends of Schleiermacher, distinguished by genius and talents, some of whom adopted views more decidedly in accordance with the received Church doctrines, or even left the views of the Reformed Church to which their master had been attached, for those of the Lutherans, took possession of the theological chairs, and continued to advance theology with the religious enthusiasm and the unconstrained criticism of their teacher, each in his own way. The most prominent of these are *Nitzsch*, *Lücke*, *Twisten*, *Ullmann*, *Jul. Müller*, *Dorner*, etc.

Another man who exerted a powerful influence in his day, was De Wette. His activity as a writer extended over almost all the branches of theology. Modern negative criticism as practised upon the history and the canon of the Scriptures, finds in him its father. In the system of doctrine as held by the Church, he recognized a significant symbolical dress of

religious truth, and on this account he was for a long time decried as a Mystic by the Rationalists proper. A letter of consolation to the mother of Sand,* which was considered by the government as an apology for assassination, caused his removal from the University of Berlin (1819). But he continued to labour with unwearied activity until his death, which took place in Basle, in 1849.

The third leader of modern theologians is A. Neander, the Church-historian. Of Schleiermacher's views as to the nature of religion, and esteemed by all parties, he vindicated the claim of piety to a place in theology, and he became an extraordinary blessing to Germany, and other countries, by the personal influence which he exerted upon students, much more than by his learning. His most influential pupils were Herm. Olshausen, who died in 1839, and especially A. Tholuck, whose mind and heart received every impression of the constituent elements of the time, in science, literature, art, and life; and thus, imparting the results of his most diversified acquisitions, he has led to Christ, or established in the faith, many thousands by his writings, his lectures, his preaching, and his intercourse. It is to the specifically ecclesiastical form alone, towards which modern theologians urge on both Christian knowledge and Christian life, that he has not lent an active hand.

The succession in the old rationalistic school, was kept up in the meanwhile through *Paulus, Röhr, Wegscheider, Gesenius, Ammon*, and *Bretschneider*; but as death removed one after another of these head-men, their doctrines, too, as doctrines at least, were buried out of sight. Winer and Fritzsche, at the same time, advanced the interpretation of the New Testament, with such a philological thoroughness and precision, that all the other schools in theology profited by the example. Speculative theology was cultivated with more or less adherence to the received doctrines of the Church by Daub, Marheineke, Baur, and in an opposite direction by Vatke, Bruno, Bauer, and others. The University of Tübingen, previously the faith-

* A young student of theology, who murdered Kotzebue from a mistaken sense of duty. Kotzebue was generally considered a spy of Russia, whence he drew a large salary. He advocated despotism, and ridiculed the spirit of liberty, then prevalent among the ardent youths of Germany.

ful foster-mother of supranaturalism, became in recent times the centre of a speculative theological school (on the foundation of Hegel), which maintains as the result of its historical criticism, and the basis of all theology, the proposition that genuine primitive Christianity is to be found in Ebionitism, and that the origin of nearly the whole of the New Testament Scriptures (the Apocalypse excepted), cannot be placed earlier than the second century. The head of this school is F. C. Baur, a man of astounding learning and extraordinary acuteness of intellect. His most prominent disciples are Schweigler and E. Zeller.*

Old Testament exegesis was advanced by Umbreit, who resembles Herder in the cast of his mind, and the direction of his learning; by Steudel, a man of piety, and a firm believer in the inspiration of the Scriptures; by Hengstenberg, who discovers Calvin's spirit and power; and by Ewald, whose authority as a grammarian and original thinker, is of the highest order, but who at the same time proceeds on the most

* The doctrines of this school are so frequently referred to in valuable transatlantic exegetical and historical works, that the briefest possible sketch of them may not be wholly unwelcome. In the Acts and Epistles, we find allusions to an opposition between Jewish and Heathen Christians. The peculiarities of these two forms of the primitive Church (in themselves quite natural and utterly innocuous), were, however, sometimes carried to such extremes as to require the rebukes or checks of the Apostles. From this truth perverted, the Tübingen school draw the inference that there were really two parties among the apostles, the one judaizing, the other leaning towards heathenism. Peter and John on the one side (both genuine narrow-minded Ebionites), and Paul on the other side (himself, however, considerably tainted with primitive Christianity, i. e. Ebionitism), were, from the beginning, bitter, violent, implacable opponents; and this hostility and contest between Jewish-Christian Petrinism, and Heathen-Christian Paulinism, continued moreover by their immediate disciples, is the sole real subject of the history of the apostolic age. Genuine contemporary records of this struggle, are to be found only in the Apocalypse, and (though not uncorrupted) in the *Pauline* epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians. With this principle in view, we can then construe the history of the apostolic age with the aid of these, as well as other (heretical) writings of the second century; for instance, the *Clementines*, in which Clemens of Rome, gives an account of Peter's missionary labours, and extracts from nineteen of his homilies; the system taught in them is a conglomerate of Gnosticism, Ebionitism, Essenism, and other vagaries. As to the system of religion taught in our New Testament, these critics hold that it arose late in the second century, and that it is the result of the conflict between the different heresies of that age. A theory so destitute of all foundation, and proceeding from such unmeasured license, would scarcely deserve any notice, were it not erected with such a prodigious expenditure of learning, that the history of the human intellect cannot show another example like it.

arbitrary, rationalistic principles of criticism, combined with a self-conceit amounting to a claim of infallibility.

During the last twenty years there has also appeared a strict or high-Lutheran tendency, resulting from a reaction against the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, attempted by the Prussian government. Ever since the inroads of Rationalism commenced, specifically *Lutheran* theology, of which Crucius and Bengel were the last representatives, had come to a stand-still; it is therefore the avowed object of this party to advance again in this direction, to revive the spirit of Luther, Gerhard, and Bengel, and to enrich Lutheranism proper with the rich treasures of modern attainments in science and criticism. The central point of this party is the University of Erlangen; the most prominent names belonging to it are *Rudelbach*, *Guericke*, *Harless*, *Löhe*, *Delitzsch*, *Krabbe*, *Thomasius*, *Hüfling*, *Hofmann*, *Wiggers*, *Lindner*, etc.

Notwithstanding this comparative revival of religion among teachers and the people, Rationalism had still preserved its existence by its peculiar self-sufficiency and incorrigibility. Innumerable preachers, and teachers in lower and higher schools were still infected by it, and even theological chairs could show its representatives. In the *Seasons of Devotion*, by Zschokke, who was not known to be the author for a long time, as the work was published anonymously at Aarau; in Tiedge's *Urania*, and altogether caricature-like in Witschel's *Morning and Evening Sacrifices*, a production as destitute of spirit as of poetry, there appeared a sentimental sort of Rationalism, which, though it was for many a one a bridge of true religion, still did immense injury to the religious progress of the people of Germany in drawing their minds, that were now awakened to a sense of their need, away from such spiritual nourishment as could really renew and revive them; and these books are even now, in many families, substitutes for the Bible, the hymn-book, and the preacher. Nevertheless, among the more highly educated classes, Rationalism lost more and more of its authority and influence. Schelling's Philosophy of Nature, and Hegel's Philosophy of the Idea, Romanticism, and positively anti-Christian literature, in all of which the spirit of the age advanced unceasingly, and in every variety of form, were

alike its enemies. Schleiermacher's theological views soon gained the victory over it; and Röhr in Weimar, at that time generalissimo and patriarch of Rationalism, found in his own diocese an opponent in Hase of Jena, who, by no means a pietist, or even orthodox, actually crushed Rationalism by his controversies. On the part of the Church it was Claus Harms in Kiel, who, on the occasion of the jubilee of the Reformation in 1817, opened the contest against the apostacy from the faith of their forefathers by the publication of ninety-five new *Theses*, which, with righteous indignation and deserved castigation, held up Luther's almost forgotten teachings before the ungodly times; and Augustus Hahn maintained, in an academical discourse, held in Leipsig in 1827, that the Rationalists ought to be removed from the Church. It was in the same year that Hengstenberg established his Evangelical Church Gazette in Berlin, which began an intrepid and energetic contest against Rationalism in all its forms. It created an extraordinary excitement when an anonymous article (by the civilian Von Gerlach) was inserted, which openly accused Gesenius and Wegscheider in Halle of infidelity and of scoffing at sacred things, and considered the interposition of the state necessary. But, although the celebrated ex-minister, Stein, expressed his hope that the state would not hesitate to put a dozen Rationalists *extra statum nocendi*, the authorities attempted only to allay the passionate strife which had been enkindled, without taking any notice of the complainant's desire. In almost all the other Protestant German States, besides Prussia, similar things took place. Rationalism met everywhere with a vigorous opposition on the part of practical pietism or orthodoxy, and there arose many a discussion, and many a dispute. Theologians of learning disavowed it; philosophers despised and ridiculed it; such was the state of public sentiment that men of culture considered it an insult to be reckoned among the Rationalists. Now, every body believed that the time had arrived to pronounce funeral discourses over this defunct system—but it was not so. Its vital power had not flown yet; it was to be found in the masses that had been educated in infidelity, and these were now to sustain their foster-mother. Sintenis, a preacher in Magdeburg, in the year 1840, declared in a public print that the

worship of Christ was a blasphemous superstition: upon this the Consistory felt themselves called upon to interpose, and the consequence was, that two neighboring preachers, Uhlich and König, organized a society of so-called *Protestant Friends*, or *Friends of Light*, who held their meetings at Köthen, and as this was a central place, and easily accessible by railroad, thousands of both laymen and ministers attended these meetings. Fraternizing with those separatists, known by the name of German-Catholics, the Friends of Light established so-called *free churches* in Halle, Königsberg, Magdeburg, and other places.

Nor had *Pietism* yet died out completely in the Protestant Church, not even during those years of religious famine, from 1750–1814; purged from many eccentricities and excrescences, it had found refuge and nourishment among the Moravian brethren; whilst in Würtemberg it assumed an independent, peculiar, theosophic, chiliastic form, and this was afterwards mixed up with a strange sort of dreams, visions, and revelations from Hades, to which especially Justinus Kerner contributed much. But in the revival of religion which succeeded the German wars of independence against Napoleon, Pietism manifested itself with vigour and decision, most strongly in the Valley of the Wupper. It proceeded, not from the clergy who had altogether become the victims of Rationalism, but from the people, whose heart was still sound, and to whom religion was still a daily necessity; and since those shallow rationalistic discourses on morality, to which they were obliged to listen, could afford no solid food to their spiritual cravings, they sought for it of their own accord, in “conventicles” and prayer-meetings, which were conducted by laymen, especially tradesmen, educated under the influence of the Bible and a religious literature, and not devoid of spiritual gifts. Since Pietism shows no martyrdom of any kind, neither scorn nor disgrace proceeding from the irreligious populace, nor the hatred of Rationalistic pastors, nor even the interference of the civil authorities, which was attempted here and there, could stop its progress. By degrees the younger generation of clergymen began to be pervaded by it, and finally professors of theology passed over on its side. The energetic and vigorous vitality of this modern Pietism

manifested itself in its great activity for missions, both foreign and domestic, in which they were wonderfully successful, though their means were exceedingly scanty. Under the stimulus of this renewed life, religious poetry, fresh and hearty, was resuscitated, the old pithy hymns of the Protestant Church came again into vogue, and the treasures of devotional writings, possessed by a former and more religious age, were again opened. This modern Pietism was at all events evangelical and protestant. For, since it did not originate like what was previously known by the same name, in an opposition to a dead orthodoxy, and a lifeless adherence to the Church, but rather in opposition to coolness in such an adherence, and to Rationalism, it distinguished itself favourably by a more decided tendency towards catholicity, although it possessed, in a greater or less degree, those features of Pietism which are its real characteristics; a too strongly marked preference of the invisible church to the disparagement of the visible; of sanctification so as to lose sight of justification; an undue fondness for penitential sorrow, connected with a disregard for the joy of believing; an inclination towards Chiliasm; indifference to the Church forms of doctrine, etc. But as Pietism, in its previous appearance, had degenerated and become a bridge to Rationalism, so this modern Pietism was elevated, and formed a transition to a more thoroughly religious life and sentiment.

The preceding outline presents a very comprehensive view of the progress of modern German theology. It is evident that Kurtz himself, as well as other of the most orthodox of German theologians, stands on different ground from that of the apostles and reformers. There is in all writers of the class to which he belongs, an undervaluing of the objective form of truth as presented in the Scriptures. Their fundamental error is conceiving of Christianity too much as a feeling, or inward life, in a certain degree independent of a system of doctrines revealed by God and obligatory on men as objects of faith. Hence they are accustomed to speak in such tolerant terms of philosophy, no matter how erroneous; and of the different phases and developments of Christianity, as though the feeling were everything, and the doctrinal expression of that feeling a matter of comparative indifference. Traces of this error are

obvious throughout the foregoing article. Our readers must not regard us as having any sympathy with this mode of representation. There is nothing of which we are more deeply convinced than that truth is essential to holiness; and that the doctrines of the gospel, as presented in the word of God, are the same, not in substance only, but in form also, for all ages, and consequently the only true development of which theology is capable, is a progressive elimination of its human element, so that it may more and more be conceived of as it existed in the minds of the apostles, and as it is presented in their writings. The philosophy of Plato was the system of doctrines which he held. His principles may admit of endless modifications and developments; but his philosophy, as he held it, is for ever one and the same, and had he been infallible, it would be for ever objective authoritative truth. So the theology of the Scriptures is for ever one definite system of doctrine, incapable of changes, because absolute, and not merely relative truth; that is, true objectively and in itself, and not merely one among many possible expressions of right feeling.

ART. V.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, convened on Thursday, May 19th, in the Central Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, at 11 o'clock A.M., and was opened with a sermon on Col. i. 16-18, by the Rev. John C. Lord, D. D., moderator of the last Assembly.

The Church is indebted to the enterprise of the proprietors and publishers of the Presbyterian for by far the fullest and ablest reports of the debates of the Assembly, which we have had in many years. This is a matter of very great and general interest, and we trust the success of this attempt may secure equally full and satisfactory reports of all future sessions of the highest judicatory of our Church.

The Rev. JOHN C. YOUNG, D. D., was elected Moderator, and the Rev. B. M. PALMER, D. D., Temporary Clerk.

Irregular Commissions.

As usual, several delegates appeared without the prescribed documentary evidence of their election. These cases are recorded, as they will have the force of precedents, whatever may be said to the contrary.

The Committee on Elections reported that Mr. Joseph B. Junkin, a ruling elder from the Presbytery of Creek Nation, was present, with a certificate that he had been appointed by all the members of that Presbytery individually, and that he was not regularly appointed, because there was no quorum present, there being but three ministers in the Presbytery.

The following minute was adopted in this case:

Mr. Joseph B. Junkin, ruling elder from the Presbytery of Creek Nation, produces such evidence that it is the decision of his Presbytery that he should represent it as a Commissioner in this Assembly, that, considering the remote situation of the Presbytery, the difficulty of its position, and the whole bearing of the case, Mr. Junkin may be safely allowed to take his seat, without the Assembly thereby establishing any precedent to operate beyond the immediate case. The Committee is, therefore, of opinion, that though he was not regularly elected, he ought to be allowed to take his seat as a member of the body.

The Committee recommended that several other delegates, whose commissions were merely irregular, should be admitted to their seats as members of the Assembly, which recommendation was adopted.

The case of the Rev. J. L. Scott, missionary from Northern India, was peculiar. When Mr. Scott left India, his Presbytery intended him to be a commissioner, at their next meeting, to this General Assembly; but his commission had not arrived.

The motion was resisted by Messrs. Neill, McClung, Mitchell, and Wilson, on the ground of dangerous precedent, and warmly advocated by Messrs. R. J. Breckinridge, Magie, Lord, and Lowrie, on the ground of his known character, and long and valuable services, creating a violent presumption that his Presbytery would naturally wish to send him, as he was coming to America, as their representative in this Assembly; and the

distance occasioning a delay in transmitting the commission, he was admitted.

There are always two ways of looking at such cases. Some men are disposed to go by the letter, and others by the spirit of the law. It is the will of the Presbytery duly expressed and authenticated, that gives a delegate a right to sit as a member of the Assembly. The book prescribes one definite mode in which the will of the Presbytery is to be made known. The strict legal right under the Book, therefore, can pertain to those only who have commissions regularly executed. A will is no will in law, unless executed in the prescribed form; but it has full force on the conscience, if there is satisfactory evidence of any kind that it is the real will of the testator. Now, as our courts are not courts of law, but moral tribunals, representing the *animus* of the Church, we think it is clearly obligatory to receive as members those whom we, in our conscience, believe the Presbyteries will to be members.

Overtures.

Several of the answers proposed by the Committee of Bills and Overtures to the questions submitted to them, contain important principles. Of these answers the following are of the most consequence:

1. An inquiry on the lawfulness of admitting to the Lord's Supper persons not holding the doctrines, or submitting to the discipline of the Presbyterian Church. The Committee reported a resolution, stating in substance,* that as to the knowledge and deportment of persons applying, the session must judge, save in the case of persons invited to sit from other Churches. After some inquiries and explanations the report was adopted.

The principles of Church communion are so clearly laid down in Scripture, and so distinctly stated in our Standards, that whenever we see such inquiries as the above presented, we

* Much as we are indebted to the Presbyterian for its full report of the debates in the Assembly, we greatly miss the actual Minutes, which we were accustomed to receive. In a great many cases, we are told, a Committee reported "in substance," so and so—or the Rev. Dr. — presented a detailed report on such a subject, or that a certain memorial was laid before the Assembly, or certain resolutions adopted, without giving us the things themselves. This is very unsatisfactory.

take it for granted they come from Congregationalists, who think, in many cases, each particular parish church may establish its own terms of communion, or from some other source, foreign to our own Church. Knowledge to discern the Lord's body, faith to feed upon him, repentance, love, and new obedience, are the only conditions of Christian communion which any church on earth has a right to impose. The Lord's table is for the Lord's people—and we commit a great sin, if we presume to debar any man, giving credible evidence of being a child of God, from our Christian fellowship. All imposition of other terms, whether relating to unessential doctrines, to slavery, temperance, hymnology, or anything else, is setting up ourselves above God in his own house; and that is the vital germ of antichrist.

2. An inquiry into the right of Church Sessions to dismiss members without specifying to what church they were to go. The Committee recommended that an affirmative answer be given, which was accordingly done.

Standing Committees.

On motion of Mr. Lowrie, it was

Resolved, That hereafter four additional Standing Committees shall be appointed by the Moderator (the number of members on each Committee to be left to the discretion of the Moderator), one for each Board of the Church, to which the reports of the Boards respectively shall be referred, as well as such other matter relating to them respectively, as the Assembly may direct.

Whilst this resolution was pending, Mr. Lowrie observed that he was in favour of referring the business of the several Boards to Standing Committees, who should have charge of all business connected with the several subjects referred to them, which he deemed a preferable arrangement to that which at present prevailed. It was highly important that these agencies should enjoy the entire confidence of the Church, and nothing would more promote this very desirable object, than a reference of their proceedings to Committees of the whole body. This would prevent a danger, otherwise inevitable, of having the weighty concerns confided to the several Boards getting

entirely into the hands of a few individuals. He would add that the proposed arrangement had been fully considered by the Secretaries of the Boards, and met with their entire and hearty concurrence.

Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said, that without any knowledge of what the excellent and respected brother had prepared, he had himself drawn up a resolution on the same subject, and which differed from that just offered in but a single particular, viz: that it proposed one general committee instead of four. He would entitle it a Standing Committee on Boards and Agencies—he had no objection that a committee be added on Theological Seminaries. As in the case of the present standing committees of the house, all matters of a kindred nature would, of course, be sent to the committee proposed. He preferred a single committee, because its operation would be to hold the entire business of these Boards in the hands of the Assembly till the whole had been fully and ripely considered—which would be better than taking one at a time and dismissing it. Besides, it would be easier to get one suitable and effective committee than to get four. As to the usual committees on the different Boards, they had always been virtually appointed beforehand, by suggesting names to the Moderator. He would offer his resolution as a substitute for that already moved.

Mr. Lowrie was satisfied that the object of the brother was in substance the same as his own, and it would be substantially secured by either resolution, viz: that the Assembly should revise the doings of these Boards, and if their proceedings were in any case deemed improper, let the Assembly say so—if not, its approval would tend greatly to increase the confidence of the Church in these important agencies.

Dr. McDowell and Dr. Wood briefly advocated the resolution of Mr. Lowrie, and Dr. Lord the substitute, when, the question being taken, the substitute was rejected.

Mr. Lowrie's motion, after some further discussion, was adopted, with an amendment proposed by Dr. McDowell, to add a Standing Committee on Theological Seminaries.

A protracted and somewhat exciting debate occurred, when the Standing Committee on Seminaries was announced.

Dr. Murray expressed the opinion that the Committee on

Theological Seminaries was not large enough, and ought to be strengthened by the addition of some further members, who were conversant with the subjects referred to that committee, and should be taken from different portions of the Church, especially from the bounds of the Synods of Albany, New York, and New Jersey. He was willing to concede the selection to the discretion of the Moderator. He made a motion to have the committee enlarged.

Dr. McDowell thought the committee, as it at present stood, had been judiciously constituted, and was full enough. He hoped no alteration would be made.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge moved to amend Dr. Murray's motion, so as to remodel the composition of the committee, by the appointment of one member from each Synod (so far as they were here represented). He considered it highly expedient that the Standing Committee on the Seminaries should contain representatives from every portion of the Church, and he saw no better way of effecting that object than that which he had proposed.

After a good deal of discussion, the proposition of Dr. W. L. Breckinridge was agreed to, and the committee remodelled accordingly.

Corresponding Members.

Dr. Baird introduced to the Assembly the Rev. Dr. Adamson, from the Free Church of Scotland, a brother who had lately been labouring as a missionary in South Africa, and Mr. Kalley, one of the exiles from the Island of Madeira, who had been driven out by Popish persecution.

Dr. Adamson was politely received by the Moderator, and invited to take his stand by his side, while he should address the body.

Dr. Adamson did so, and proceeded to observe that he deemed it a very gracious dispensation of Providence that he enjoyed the present opportunity of addressing his American brethren. Knowing the preciousness of their time, he should condense what he had to say as much as possible, and would be pardoned for rapidity in his delivery. He had resided for twenty-three or twenty-four years in a land which, though com-

paratively dark, was as highly favoured by Providence as any portion of the earth, in the provisions made for carrying into every part of it the precious gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord. On looking at any map of the African continent, a coloured patch would be observed at its Southern extremity—it designated the extent of the British colony at the Cape of Good Hope. On its Northern extremity ran the great Orange river (a stream many miles longer than the Rhine), and which, extending along the border of the wilderness, marked the limit to the efforts of the European race to do good in that quarter of the world. At the extreme south, extended a narrow strip of very fertile land, whence it gradually extended itself like a fan to the tropical regions of the interior. A portion of the labourers in this field consisted of members from the Reformed Church of Scotland, who constituted three Presbyteries formed into one Synod, within whose bounds were thirty-seven churches. This might be considered as the Established Church of the colony, so far as there was any. They had long been engaged in giving instruction to the coloured race. The earliest date to which missionary operations could be traced was about one hundred years ago, when it had been commenced by a good Moravian brother, who had met with much opposition in his labour of love. Next came the English Christians, who were more scattered throughout the country. They were from the Wesleyan and the London Missionary Society. The representatives of the churches of Germany and Prussia came from the banks of the Rhine, and were situated on the western border of the colony. Those from Berlin constituted one mission in its centre. Besides these, there were devoted missionaries from the French Protestants, sent out by the Society of Paris. They had located themselves in the very midst of a mass of a native population, which occupied the whole continent south of the equator, and who had all hitherto spoken nearly the same language; then there were Scotch missionaries situated on the borders of the Kaffir land, whose missions had been nearly destroyed in the course of the late military conflicts. When coming to the coast of Natal, there were found German and English missions, and the noble company of American brethren. These he considered as being the most blessed and the most

influential of them all. These had taken in hand the charge of translating into the native language, and Dr. Adamson came as their delegate to this country.

His own operations had been conducted at first under the Established Church of Scotland, and his mission seemed to be to do good, as far as practicable, to the coloured race, which it was his delight to take by the hand; his white brethren from Holland, and the noble sons of the Huguenots, whom persecution had driven out of France when Louis XIV. undertook to destroy the gospel in his kingdom; he felt specially called to devote himself to the poor blacks. A most interesting event had taken place in the colony. He alluded to the manumission of the coloured slaves, and knowing that the time for this drew nigh, he had considered it his duty to awaken society there to the necessity of preparing for it. There was, under such circumstances, an imperious call for firm faith and well directed effort—but he assured them that if faith did go forth to such an effort, it would certainly be blessed, and so it had proved. Fears had been entertained that three-fourths of this population would be found to be heathen, while the residue were Mohammedans. Yet when the fact came to be ascertained, out of eleven or twelve thousand coloured slaves, but three hundred were found to be professed heathens. In company with a colleague from the Lutheran Church, he had visited these people, and invited them to attend church—a thing that had never happened to them before; it produced a great sensation among them, and they came out in great numbers, and showed that there was the foundation for a great and flourishing Christian church. Schools had been established, and seven hundred children gathered into them. Another means of good had been the establishment among them of a Friendly Society, whose object was to provide for the aged and the sick. This had checked the natural improvidence of their pockets, and taught them to lay up the money they had formerly wasted. Eleven hundred members had been added to this association. There existed at this time five coloured churches of these emancipated apprentices. After some very severe strictures on Patronism as existing in the Scottish Church, and on the sectarian spirit of the British Government, he declared his preference for the

American field, as presenting far less obstacles to the free spread of the gospel.

Dr. Kalley declined making any statements respecting the late transactions in Madeira, since they were all well known to the American Christian; but went into a course of pious Christian reflection on the power and blessedness of being permitted to labour, and even to suffer in the great cause of Christ's kingdom and glory. He had himself never tasted truer happiness than when in a prison for that precious cause. He closed with some remarks in relation to slavery, and the duty of all Christians to combine to abolish the laws which authorized the separation between coloured husbands and their wives.

The Rev. Lyman H. Atwater, from the General Association of Connecticut, and the Rev. A. Toby of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, successively addressed the Assembly with warm and affectionate salutations, and the expression of Christian respect and brotherly fellowship. They briefly stated the religious condition of their respective bodies, congratulating the Assembly on its wide extent and growing prosperity. To these addresses the Moderator made suitable replies, reciprocating the same assurances of good will. It was truly refreshing to witness this fraternal intercourse, and to listen to the heart-felt expressions of Christian love between these sister branches of the Church of God.

Rev. Dr. Revel, Moderator of the Waldensian Synod, who was introduced by Dr. Baird, was addressed, in a very appropriate manner, by the Moderator, who referred to the past history of the persecuted people from whom he came; the reverence and sympathy felt by the Church in this country; the tears shed by himself in childhood over the narrative of their sufferings; the fidelity and undaunted heroism shown by them under the heaviest trials; the united testimony of our fathers and theirs to the truth, and the martyr-blood by which that testimony had been sealed. He expressed his hope that Dr. Revel would receive tokens of love and sympathy throughout all the American churches, more efficient than words, and his trust that our illustrious visitor would be able to take back to his country, and his companions in trial, the conviction and the

evidence that they enjoyed the strong affection and deepest sympathy of their American brethren.

Dr. Revel replied, and addressed the Assembly in the French language, his address from time to time being rendered into English by Dr. Baird.

The earnestness, humility, simplicity, and affectionate tone of his brief speech, made a profound impression on the Assembly, as well as on the auditory who crowded the aisles and galleries. In conclusion, he presented a paper given him by the Waldensian "Table," which is a sort of Executive Committee of that Church, empowered to act for the whole body in the intervals of the sessions of their General Assembly, which is triennial.

Dr. Spring then moved a resolution commending him to the affection and co-operation of our churches.

The following letter was, at a later period in the sessions of the Assembly, ordered to be sent to the churches :

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, to the Churches under their care—Greeting :

*Dearly Beloved Brethren :—*It has been our privilege, during the present session, to receive as a guest the Rev. J. P. Revel, Moderator of the Waldensian Synod, and representative of that ancient and venerable Church. Standing upon the same platform of doctrine and order with ourselves—being Calvinistic in the one, and Presbyterian in the other—this Church is endeared to us on many grounds; because she can trace her lineage, in a direct historic line, to that primitive Church, which, for aught we know, was founded by apostolic labours; because through that long night of a thousand years, when the nations of the earth "wandered after the beast," she kept the beacon light of truth and godliness upon her Alpine watch-tower; because her mountain fastnesses have afforded an asylum to the persecuted saints of the Lord in every land, during those ages when "the woman was drunken with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;" because, during six centuries the grace and power of God have preserved her, like the burning bush, amidst the flames of persecution—and thus she stands forth a precious memorial of God's covenant fidelity, and of Christ's power, as

King in Zion, to keep his seed alive upon the earth ; because, not needing herself to be reformed, she has in every age earnestly sympathized with every effort to purge the Church of error and impiety ; because, through six hundred years she has been a faithful witness for God and the truth, furnishing a noble army of Confessors, who have sealed their testimony with their blood ; and, because, in every age, she has been a Missionary Church, devoted to Evangelical labours—and now, in the first lull of that storm which has so long beaten upon her, she comes forth from the cleft in the rock, and girds herself anew to the propagation of Christianity.

Though like the conies they are a feeble folk, numbering only twenty-three thousand souls, who glean a scanty subsistence from their mountain terraces, yet “the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty have abounded unto the riches of their liberality.” They have undertaken not only to sustain their own pastorates, but to build churches in Turin, Genoa, Pignerol, Nice, and other important places contiguous to their territory ; to sustain missionaries, through whom the word of the Lord may “sound out into the regions beyond ;” and especially to found a Theological School, which shall train a native ministry adapted to the great work of evangelizing Papal Europe. For these various purposes the sum of \$50,000 is imperatively needed ; which, while it would enrich them, is but the small dust of that wonderful wealth which a benignant Providence has poured into the lap of the American Church. We do the more earnestly commend this great object, Christian brethren, to your sympathy and aid, since Mr. Revel, the representative of this martyr Church, has time to do little more than to introduce himself to us, and through us to introduce his cause to you. Brethren, it will be well done if it be quickly done. Do with your might whatsoever your hand and your heart may find to do in this matter ; and send your contributions which God may give you grace to afford, to the Hon. Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York, at as early a period as possible.

Yours in the Lord Jesus.

Foreign Missions.

The hour having arrived, the Assembly passed to the order of the day, which was the presentation of the Report from the Committee on the Board of Foreign Missions.

Rev. Dr. Smythe thereupon reported a series of resolutions:

1. Expressing thanks to the Board for the zealous and economical manner in which they had conducted these important operations of the Church.

2. Commending the Annual Report to the prayerful examination of our ministers, ruling elders, and church-members.

3. Expressing thanks to God, that, as a Church, we are united in the missionary work, and for the success which has increased the pecuniary contributions to Foreign Missions tenfold since 1831, and the gradual increase of the missionary spirit.

4. Adverting to the causes for humiliation because of the apathy which still exists among us to such an extent, that more than one-half of all the churches, under the care of more than one-fourth of the ministers, with nearly one-third of the church-members, have given nothing through this Board for sending the gospel to the heathen during the past year.

5. Calling the attention of the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches, and individual church-members to this delinquency, and in order to effect an improvement, pastors are urged to preach on the subject, instruct the young, observe the monthly concert, and circulate the *Foreign Missionary* and *Home and Foreign Record*.

6. Enjoining it on Presbyteries to inquire of every pastor and elder what measures have been adopted to secure increased interest in this great cause; and further suggesting to the several Synods an annual sermon on the subject.

7. Recognizing in all that has occurred to encourage us, that there is a loud call for greater liberality, and more earnest and persevering prayer to the Lord of the harvest, for more labourers and increased efficiency, especially among the Indians—in India, Africa, and among Romanists—and finally, calling the attention of the Executive Committee of the Board

specially to the Jews, in view of the promises of Scripture, and the great apathy in regard to them.

Walter Lowrie, Esq., the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, then addressed the Assembly in a series of statements of the highest interest, respecting the present condition of the great concern of Foreign Missions, which, as they were delivered with affectionate earnestness and many tears, were listened to with profound attention. We cannot attempt to give the details—all of which will be found in the printed Report—but have gathered up a few of the prominent facts. Mr. Lowrie would state the business principles on which the Foreign Missions of our Church were conducted—for they had of necessity to do with money, and men, and women, and much of the everyday business of human life.

The receipts during the year amounted to \$153,855. Of this sum the donations amounted to \$85,346. To this source of supply the Board looked with the deepest interest. But the cause did not rely on these; it must look, and did look, to the people of God throughout the Church, for the silver and the gold necessary to send the gospel to the heathen world.

Mr. Lowrie here presented a list of the Synods in the Church—designating which had advanced, and which had fallen back, in their annual contributions. Sixteen had increased; eleven had fallen off. The increase amounted to \$12,292; the decrease to \$7885; leaving an aggregate amount of increase of \$4437.

He proclaimed the astounding fact, that *more than half our churches had, this year, given nothing to this sacred cause*; and they contained one-third of all our communicants. A few of these might have given to the American Board, and a few given to both, but the number of them was small. The contributions of the Central Synods had fallen off *one-half* from these causes; some missions had been crippled, and some discontinued altogether.

Mr. Lowrie then gave some details respecting our missions among the Creek Indians. And here he stated, from personal observation, the astonishing change in the condition of this tribe since they had enjoyed the labours of missionaries among them. Yet this mission must be abandoned, unless more was

done by the Church. Respecting Africa, he said comparatively little, because Mr. Wilson, the missionary, was to address the Assembly.

India.—Here Mr. Lowrie explained the necessity of spending large sums in educating the neglected females of the Hindoos. So degraded had they been, that they did not deem themselves fit companions for the other sex; but now they experienced the influence of Christianity, they were assuming their proper level, and their true attitude.

Siam.—Was fully open to missionary effort. They were a reading people—having a free school system, that exceeded even that of New England. This gave great facilities for the work of missions, which could be effectually aided by the press.

China.—He spoke of the loss of missionaries by death, (one by violence)—This country too presented an open door for effort.

California.—This mission was necessarily attended with great expense—yet from the number of Chinese immigrants it was highly important. These people were industrious, and promised to become good citizens. They must have preaching, the help of the press, and the means of education.

Papal Countries.—Here Mr. Lowrie spoke eloquently of the Waldenses and their claims for aid.

The Jews presented the hardest of all fields for missionary enterprise.

Mr. Lowrie then went on to speak of the vast amount of labour thrown upon the single Board of Foreign Missions, and touched a few details to show what it had to accomplish.

Returning to the subject of pecuniary support, without which nothing could be done, Mr. Lowrie stated that the contributions in some of our Synods averaged about 16 cents a year to each communicant! one quarter of a cent a week! while more than 500 members stood absolutely idle. He had renewed these appeals every year, and yet in 17 years there had been scarce any advance. Were all our people such as these, he should have given up the cause long ago—but thanks be to God, there were those all over the Church, whose deeds adorned their pro-

fession. He did not come here to exhort this Assembly, but his heart was full, and he could not close his lips. The position he occupied was not, God knew, of his seeking—it had caused him many anxious days, and not a few sleepless nights—he tried to be faithful, and to state the true state of the case.

Yet it was not all shade—there were joys mingled with these cares, exceeded only by the joys of heaven. He adverted to our rich and multiplied privileges in this land of Christian freedom; and then, presenting the condition of the poor dark Indian, the idolatrous Hindoo, the selfish Chinese, the debased Hottentot, he dwelt upon the thought of their being brought, by God's blessing on missionary effort, to a like condition, and finished the beautiful picture by representing them at the table of the Lord. This paid, and more than paid for all. And then he closed by following them up to heaven, and tracing their condition there as given by the pen of inspiration. Let the Church keep her eye on this picture, till, after duty done and trials endured, she should appear with them in glory.

The Assembly was then addressed by the Rev. J. L. Wilson, a returned missionary from Africa, who went at length into an account of the present state, and future prospects, of the missionary cause on that dark continent.

He stated, as among the results of missionary labour there, the gathering of more than one hundred Christian churches, containing ten thousand hopeful converts; the establishment of one hundred and fifty Christian schools, in which from twelve to fifteen thousand youth were receiving Christian and other instruction. The Bible had been translated, and its truths brought into contact, directly or indirectly, with a million of human minds. They had given to Africa eighteen written dialects—and all this without grammars or teachers, or any extrinsic aid; and this had been the work of Protestant missions within a space of twenty years.

The country was open to us, and everywhere there was a growing desire for missionaries to settle among them.

Mr. Wilson admitted the insalubriousness of the climate to white constitutions—but this had been greatly exaggerated. With ordinary prudence a man might live in Africa long enough to effect, under the divine blessing, a vast amount of

good. At this day there were more than one hundred white missionaries living there, besides whom, there were not less than two thousand on the coast and islands, in the pursuit of commerce or the slave trade. But, were it otherwise, and did every missionary certainly shorten his days, still it was true,

“That life is long which answers life’s great end.”

Mr. Wilson went into a very impressive comparison of the relative amount of success between missionaries in Africa and ministers of the gospel here. Allowing 30 converts and the founding of one Christian church as the average success of the latter, the results to a missionary in Africa, were, in the same time, 250 converts and two churches. Did the church do her duty to that land, it would soon go ahead of America.

Mr. Newton, a returned missionary from the Lodian mission in Northern India, then addressed the Assembly, and spoke on the claims of the cause in India for an additional number of missionaries. He divided the population into three classes—Mohammedan, Hindoo, and Sikh. To the first class belonged more than half. The Sikhs are regarded as a sort of reformed Hindoos, and whose reformation, such as it was, had been the work of a man who was cotemporary with Luther in Europe. His object seemed to have been to reform the idolatry of his countrymen, and reconcile them in part to the religion of the Mohammedans. A portion of the people were called Juts, and were believed to be a branch of the Goths who invaded Europe.

This people once had great political power in India; but that was gone, and with it the principal part of the ritual of their religion, (which resembled that of Mohammed, in relying on the sword,) and they consequently presented a hopeful field for the introduction of Christianity. On this ground, Mr. Newton pressed his claim for missionary aid. Throughout the whole Punjaub the Lord seemed to have prepared the way in a wonderful manner, and the people themselves had ceased to defend their own religion, and were impressed with the conviction that it was destined to expire. Their great danger now was the lapse from rejected theology into atheism.

The several resolutions contained in the Report were adopted

without debate, with the exception of the last, which urged special labours for the conversion of the Jews, as, according to Scripture, preliminary to the conversion of the world.

The question being on a motion of Dr. Henry to strike out this resolution,

Dr. Spring said, he rose under great embarrassment, in expressing the doubt he felt as to the wisdom of the Assembly's adoption of this resolution. He was far, very far, from feeling any thing like indifference to the condition of the Jews, or the prospects of their speedy conversion. On the contrary, he had examined the subject with the most intense interest; yet he could not perceive that the aspect of Divine Providence toward that unhappy people gave any favourable indication that the time of their promised mercy was near at hand. Look at the immense efforts of our transatlantic brethren for their conversion, and what was the result? It was certainly most discouraging. Dr. Spring, when in Europe, had had a very impressive conversation with the Rev. Dr. Burder, well known for his zeal in behalf of the Jews' Society of London; when enumerating to another gentleman who was present, the number of supposed converts which the society could then count, that gentleman had, with great solemnity and earnestness, put to Dr. Burder this question—"Have you any reason to believe that the Society has been, thus far, instrumental in the real conversion of a single Jew?" Dr. Burder, with much emotion, and after a brief pause, replied, "I fear we have not."

Dr. Spring went on to say, that his own impression had been that the Church's duty, in her efforts for the spread of the gospel, was to follow where the pillar and the cloud seemed to lead her way. There were wide and promising fields of enterprise elsewhere, which seemed white unto harvest; there were the broad lands of the Papal domination, and the yet broader land of heathen darkness, which seemed to invite our labours, and where the most encouraging success was found to attend them; but he had long and closely watched the results of the efforts put forth in behalf of the Jews, and the result of his observation had been a cautious refusal of his own poor name, (worth nothing, indeed, save from position,) in favour of any such efforts at the present time. It did seem to him that the time had

not yet come for the return of these outcasts into the bosom of the Church, unless his speculations on this subject (and they were but speculations, he admitted,) had deceived him. When the set time to favour them had come, or was at hand, we should see the evident and marked leadings of God's providence, and should hear the awful sounds of his omnipotent voice giving indication that the long expected day of their redemption was indeed at last come.

Dr. Spring objected to the condemnatory tone of this resolution, declaring that the churches were bound to make *special* efforts on this subject now. He believed no such thing. It was, indeed, their duty at all times to labour and pray for them; but as to there being any *special* call for extraordinary effort in their behalf at this day, he thought the aspect of divine Providence gave no indication of it. Let the Jews occupy that warm place they had, and which they must ever occupy, in all Christian hearts. The great difficulty under which they laboured was a want of employment; they came among us, and were eager to get some profitable employ; it was easy to convert them, perfectly easy, nothing easier, if you would *support* them. The great mass of those professing to be converted were under pay as agents of the Jews' Society. The Jewish mind needed to be raised—to be cultivated—to be enlightened. Yet, let him not be misunderstood. He was not objecting to efforts in behalf of the sons of Abraham; he would not throw a straw in the way; he wished them God speed; but he could not consent so emphatically to call the Church to this as a *special* duty of the present day.

Dr. Baird admitted there was force in the remarks of Dr. Spring; yet he hoped the resolution would not be entirely stricken out. The present wording of the resolution certainly did seem to convey the idea that the conversion of the world depended on the conversion of the Jews; he did not like the word "depended," and would rather substitute "intimately connected with." He should be sorry to see the resolution wholly omitted. He thought that the present state of the work among the Jews would hardly justify the want of confidence felt by some Christians in regard to it.

Dr. Baird had for fifteen years past, come in frequent con-

tact with the labourers sent forth by the Jews' Society, and he was personally acquainted with some of their converts; and he could testify that since the time of Dr. Spring's conversation with Dr. Burder, a change, a very great change had taken place. There was at this time a great movement among the Jews in Germany, in Poland, in Hungary, and in Holland—and enough good had been done to afford us great encouragement. But lately we have had comparatively but few Jews in this country; now they amounted to some 100,000. The Church had seemed to exercise but little faith in regard to their conversion; now she was putting forth more faith, and there was a corresponding encouragement. There were no more interesting missionaries in the whole field than the Scottish missionaries at Pesth in Hungary. Dr. Baird was personally acquainted with them, and he knew that their labours were meeting with great success. There were more converted on the Continent than in England. He trusted the resolution would not be stricken out.

Dr. Lord of Buffalo, moved that the report be recommitted.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge remarked, in regard to the whole report, that its tone was somewhat too strong. The condemnatory phrases especially were too strongly expressed. There was in all the resolutions we were in the habit of adopting, too much of exaggeration. There was a vehemency in the language used which savoured of exaggeration; and, however this might be overlooked in our off-hand speeches, when we drew up documents in writing to go to the world, it ought to be avoided.

Yet Dr. Breckinridge should greatly regret to see the resolution wholly stricken out. There was, as all knew, a great variety of views entertained in the Church touching the language of prophecy on the restoration of the Jews, as there was on the millennium. It would not be edifying for the Assembly to go into all that; but all were agreed in embracing the Jews as a fit subject for missionary enterprise, and the interest was one altogether too great to be omitted by a Committee on Foreign Missions. There was a great solution to come, some day, of all these great questions—the language of prophecy certainly did cover the whole ground of the Jewish restoration, the destruction of Popery, and the conversion of the heathen—it covered

the whole vast field of foreign missions. And it was impossible to strike out the Jews from our programme of missionary effort, without turning away from our duty, and mutilating the scheme of general good to be accomplished. There might be in the Divine mind a synchronism as to the great wants for the blessing of the world—and it was not for us to turn away from any portion of the promise or the prospect set before us in the Bible. Jerusalem was to be trodden down of the Gentiles *till* the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled, and then all Israel should be saved. There was a definite time distinctly alluded to, and if there was one thing clearly taught, it was, that God loved those who loved and cared for his ancient covenant people, and that he would execute his fierce judgments on all who oppressed them. He had never given Jerusalem a bill of divorcement; and it was a striking difference between Protestantism and Popery, that the one cherished and cared for the poor outcast exiles, while Popery everywhere hated and oppressed them.

It was very true, that it was the Church's duty to follow the guidance of the pillar and the cloud; but then it should be remembered that the cloudy pillar was ever before the people of God, when his word called them to any good work. Dr. Breckinridge closed with some reference to former discussions in the Assembly, as to the Church's mode of conducting the missionary enterprise; he believed she never would reach the hearts, and command the means of the Church as she ought to do, till she fully followed out God's own mode prescribed for her action.

Mr. Nevin wished the resolution to stand, because he believed the Church was called of God to the express work of labouring for Jewish conversion. Paul asked the Roman Christians, if the fall of the Jews was the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness? and if the casting away of them be the renovating of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? He thought the argument, from the small success which had hitherto attended the efforts for their conversion, without foundation. God called his people his witnesses; and he thought their testimony would be as effectual

to his truth from a want of success in this effort, as from its success. If the ordinary effects followed our preaching to the Jews, the testimony of the fact for God would be much weakened. The obstinate rejection by the Jews of the most strenuous endeavours for their good, their stubbornness and hardness of heart, furnished a cumulative argument to prove the truth and foreknowledge of God. The evidence was accumulating and strengthening with every tick of the clock, and just as much from the darkness of the Jewish field as from the light. If the Church could work only in the light, she was walking by sight, and not by faith. Who can tell? God might come suddenly to his temple; surely it was not for us to cast off a people whom he had chosen, from whom we received the lively oracles of truth, and even our Saviour himself. No: let us believe where we could not see, and go on patiently doing our duty, and we should sooner or later behold the cause and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ make its triumphant march round the subjugated world.

Board of Education.—Abstract of Annual Report for 1853.

Part I. MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.—The Church should aim at bringing into the ministry all classes of her sons, acknowledging in all cases the necessity of the call by the Spirit. The Report alludes to the dearth of candidates, 1. As affecting the character of the Church. 2. It involves many responsibilities. 3. It impedes our aggressive work in the world. 4. It places the Church, in a certain sense, in opposition to Providence. 5. It entails disadvantages on this and on succeeding generations. 6. It is remarkable in view of all the offers of assistance to the deserving. 7. It is in striking contrast with the general outward prosperity of the Church. 8. And with the infidel and Roman increase. 9. The dearth of candidates should lead to prayer.

Part II. OPERATIONS OF THE YEAR.—The number of *candidates* in all stages of education, 370, (2 less than last year.) The number of *schools* is about 100; of *Classical Academies* 46; of *Colleges* 13, besides three or four others projected during the year. Funds received for Ministerial Education, \$32,519 52;

for schools, academies, and colleges, \$9883 64; other purposes, \$220. In all, \$42,623 16. Payments, \$37,899 53. .

Part III. contains remarks on Church schools and State schools; or, a plea for religious education, charity, and peace. The first proposition is, that the religious training of children is ordained of God as the means of building up the Church. This is proved by the commands, and the special promises of God, and by the experience of the Church, in both dispensations, and in every part of the world. The second proposition is, that religious training must be given in schools, as well as in families. 1. Because the family is insufficient for the entire work of religious, as well as of secular education. 2. Because even competent parents have not the requisite time. 3. Because most households give no religious instruction whatever. 4. Because history proves the value of the agency under consideration. The third proposition is that adequate religious instruction can only be provided in schools under the care of the Church. 1. Because in no others can Christians choose the teachers, or determine the course of training. 2. The prevalent diversity of religious opinion, and sectarian jealousy, must prevent the adoption of any efficient system of religious instruction. 3. The argument from the history of our common schools is decisive on this subject.

The fourth proposition is, that the two systems of Church and State schools may readily co-exist. The one supplements the other. The friends of parochial schools desire, as a general thing, that efficiency should be given to the State system. 1. Because thousands of children might otherwise remain uneducated. 2. Because secular education, even with the minimum of moral and religious instruction, and with other facilities for receiving it, is a blessing. 3. In the present condition of public opinion, the common schools are the only ones for which State patronage can be secured; and without the aid of the State, the general education of the people cannot be accomplished. 4. The State schools constitute a great public system, which ought not to be set aside until a better and more efficient one can be devised.

On the other hand, the friends of the State system have no reason to oppose denominational schools. 1. Because these

schools do not owe their origin to hostility to the State system, but to views of Christian duty. 2. The utmost extent to which the denominational system can be now carried will leave much ground that can only be occupied by the State. 3. Denominational schools are not exclusive, and need not be offensively sectarian. 4. Healthful competition is of great advantage in the work of education. 5. Let the patriot remember that the advantages of religious education to the State are incalculably precious. 6. The rights of conscience are guarantied to all; and every Church is at perfect liberty to establish schools in which religion shall be taught after its own doctrines and usages.

Conclusion.—The true educational policy of the Presbyterian Church is: 1. To sustain common schools, where it can be consistently done with the Bible in them. 2. To resist the Papal invasion of the State system for the propagation of Romanism. 3. To encourage religious schools and academies under private teachers, where circumstances favour it. 4. To sustain cordially and efficiently institutions of learning under the Church's own care.

The following resolutions, presented by the Standing Committee on the Board of Education, were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the lamentable dearth of candidates for the ministry in the Church, while the call, both from the home and foreign field, is becoming more frequent and pressing, is a subject of serious alarm; involving great responsibilities in all concerned, and demanding, in the most urgent manner, the immediate and particular attention of ministers, elders, parents, and pious young men; and the Assembly express the opinion, that constant and earnest prayer should be made to the "Lord of the harvest," both in public and private, until a gracious answer is given in his holy Providence; and that the last Thursday of February next be recommended as day of *special* prayer, and public instruction on this subject, in all our churches.

2. *Resolved*, That this Assembly sanction the alteration of the rule of the Board of Education on the subject of appropriations, so as to allow, under particular circumstances, an increase of the sum, above the maximum now granted, according to the discretion of the Board.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly gratefully record the goodness of God in giving so large a measure of prosperity to our Schools, Academies, and Colleges during the year, and especially in pouring out his Spirit on some of these institutions to the conversion, edification, and salvation of numbers of their youth.

4. *Resolved*, That the establishment of a High School, for the use and benefit of the free coloured population of this country, meets the cordial approbation and recommendation of this Assembly; with the understanding that it shall be wholly under the supervision and control of the Presbytery, or Synod, within whose bounds it may be located, thus securing such an education as shall promote the usefulness and happiness of this class of our people.

5. *Resolved*, That the effort of the Synod of Arkansas to establish "Makemie College," within its wide and destitute bounds upon the frontier population, is entitled to the special support of the friends of Christian education; and it is recommended not only to the attention of the Board, but to the efficient and liberal co-operation of all who have it in their power to render it aid.

6. *Resolved*, That the Presbyterian Church has always been, and is now, in favour of the general education of the people; yet whilst the General Assembly cordially welcome and rejoice in all public or private efforts, not anti-christian, which have this end in view, and which recognize the use of the Holy Scriptures, they still deem it important and necessary to adhere to, and extend their own system of Schools, Academies, and Colleges, as Christian institutions, whose purpose is to bring up their youth in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

7. *Resolved*, That the Assembly renewedly recommend the objects of the Board of Education in its various departments, to the patronage of the churches, in such form as each may deem best.

Board of Publication.

The Report of the Board, as presented by Dr. Musgrave, gave a full and encouraging view of their operations. The

Report embraced a condensed statement of the result of its labours, from which it appears that from April 1st, 1842, to April 1st, 1843, the sales amounted to only \$11,289.46; and during that year there were no receipts for colportage or distribution. But from April 1st, 1852, to April 1st, 1853, the sales amounted to \$72,746.35. During that year the donations for colportage were \$12,188.01, and the donations for distribution \$1723. The aggregate amount of sales from April 1st, 1841, to April 1st, 1853, has amounted to \$466,573.75. During the year ending March 31st, 1853, the number of copies of new publications printed by the Board has amounted to 140,750. During the same period they have published new editions from stereotype plates to the amount of 604,800. Total number of copies of books and tracts published during the year, 745,550. The aggregate number of volumes published by the Board, from their organization, in 1840, to March 31st, 1853, has amounted to 2,020,450. The aggregate number of tracts published during the same period has amounted to 2,131,450. The total number of volumes and tracts published by the Board from 1840 to March 31, 1853, has amounted to 4,151,900.

Dr. Murray, from the Committee on the Report of the Board of Publication, reported a series of resolutions, which are as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, the evangelical press is, next to the pulpit, the most efficient means for the propagation of divine truth and the conversion and salvation of men, and ought, therefore, to be employed by the Church to the utmost extent of her ability.

2. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Assembly, the publication and circulation of books and tracts, in which are exhibited the distinctive doctrines and order of our beloved Church, is not only highly important but indispensably necessary to her prosperity and extension, and ought, therefore, to receive the approbation and active co-operation of every Presbyterian.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly approve of the wisdom and zeal with which the Board of Publication have carried forward

the important work committed to their management during the past year, and are highly gratified with the result of their labours.

4. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the pecuniary means of the Board would not justify them in attempting to establish local depositories, and as the necessary funds could probably be raised in the places where they are needed, it is hereby recommended that such local efforts be made wherever they are desired and can be properly sustained.

5. *Resolved*, That while the Assembly would urge the Board to continue to press onward and extend their operations over their whole field of labour, they would also urge them to continue to have a due regard to prudence and safety in the employment of the funds committed to their trust.

6. *Resolved*, That as the continued and extended usefulness of the Board of Publication, like every other benevolent institution, must depend, under God, upon the liberality of the benevolent, it is hereby earnestly recommended to all our pastors and churches to give particular attention to the claims of this Board, and render such aid by the contribution of funds as to enable the Board greatly to enlarge their operations.

7. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to all our pastors to endeavour to increase the circulation of the Home and Foreign Record, the organ of the Boards of the Church, in order that our churches may be better acquainted with their respective plans and operations, and be induced to contribute more liberally towards their support.

8. *Resolved*, That in view of the destitution of many Presbyterian families of our Confession of Faith, it is hereby earnestly recommended to all our pastors and elders to endeavour to induce every family in our connection to supply themselves with a copy of the standards of our Church; and the Board of Publication is requested to furnish, through their Colporteurs, every practicable facility for this purpose.

9. *Resolved*, That Art. III. of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Board of Publication be so amended as to read as follows:—Art. III. The Board of Managers shall hold their first meeting at such time and place as may be directed by the present General Assembly, and *shall hold a meeting annually*,

on the second Tuesday in June, at which time it shall appoint a President, Vice-President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Recording Secretary, and an Executive Committee, to serve for the ensuing year.

These resolutions were all agreed to.

Board of Missions.

The Rev. C. C. Jones, D.D., Secretary of the Board, presented a verbal report full of animation and intelligence, in which he exhibited at large the condition of our Domestic Missions, the disposition of missionaries, and the state of the funds. He traced the missionary work as having been under the care of this Church from the days of the old Presbytery of Philadelphia, through a gradually extending organization down to the present time, in which the Board made to the Assembly its fifty-first Annual Report.

He considered the work committed to the care of the Board, under the several heads of expansion and retention, or propagation and preservation. Under the first, he treated of the measures adopted for founding churches throughout our country; and under the second, of those pursued to furnish them, when founded, with men and means to continue the preaching of the gospel. The field was unequally divided under the care of two committees, one at Philadelphia, and the other at Louisville. During the past year the first of these committees had operated in a field containing 1700 churches, 158,000 members, and about 1000 ministers; while that of Louisville had under its care 996 ministers, 52,000 members, and many churches. The committees stood on equal ground, and were both subject to the control of the Board.

The reporter caught the following statistics: The missionaries employed had been 515 (twenty-three less than last year); 838 missionary churches; 32 new churches; 1600 persons had been received on examination, besides 1200 on certificates from other churches—making an aggregate gain of 2900 new members. In 4500 schools there were 3000 teachers; and forty houses of worship had been erected. These amounts, however, fell far short of the actual truth, as in many cases no returns had been received.

The great principle on which the missionary enterprises of the Board were conducted, was that laid down by the Presbyterian Church, viz:—The principle of *self-sustentation*. And the Board felt high satisfaction in being able to state, that during the year, forty-one churches under the care of the Committee at Louisville, served by twenty-eight ministers, and thirty-three churches under the Committee at Philadelphia, served by twenty-eight ministers—making in all seventy-four missionary churches, had gone off from under the further charge of the Board, self-supported. With a very few exceptions, every application for aid had been met, on its face. On the subject of ministerial support, Dr. Jones stated that the average allowance paid by the Board to their missionaries was \$132,00. Including the aid received at the same time from the people to whom they ministered, the average salary was \$372. This was an advance on the previous year. The Board was desirous of increasing this allowance. The salary, be it remembered, was not fixed by the Board, but by the people and the Presbyteries. Dr. Jones spoke with great tenderness and veneration of the aged missionaries sent out by the Board; many of whom he now saw around him as honoured members of this Assembly.

There had been comparatively but little experienced of the outpouring of the Spirit of God—but this lamentation was common to sister denominations, and it constituted a call to faith and prayer.

He next touched upon the enlargement of the Church by the addition of new Synods, and warmly congratulated the Assembly and the whole Church on the formation of a “Synod of the Pacific.” Surely every brother residing on this side the mountains ought to stretch forth with joy the right hand of fellowship to their brethren from the utmost sea. Here was the blessed sight of the Atlantic shaking hands, as it were, with the Pacific, across the breadth of an entire continent.

Thus was the Church of God binding together the whole of this wide land. Dr. Jones referred to the encouraging prospects in Texas, and the probable influence of a body of Christians in that great and growing State, in bursting the barriers of Papal darkness, and carrying the banner of the truth in

triumph across the Rio Grande. This was destined to be a Protestant nation, and Popery was crumbling before its onward march.

He went into a statement of the finances of the Board, from which it appeared that the receipts from all quarters during the year had been \$81,400: adding to this the balance in hand from 1852, and the sums borrowed would swell the amount to \$85,655; the expenditures were \$67,000 leaving a surplus now in the treasury of \$17,000. The debt of \$5000 had been paid off, and all the missionaries up to the 1st of April last, so that he was able to congratulate the Assembly on the fact that the Domestic missionary fund of the Church was this day wholly *free from debt*. This had been effected by the ability of so many churches to do without any support from this Board; by this means alone a saving had been effected of \$6000, and the \$17,000 remaining was only a working balance to guard against contingencies. Dr. Jones closed his report by a thrilling anticipation of the universal spread and final triumph of the Church of God.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge, from the Standing Committee on the Annual Report of the Board of Domestic Missions, made a Report, which was read, as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly acknowledges with gratitude to the great Head of the Church, the manifold mercies which have rested upon its Domestic Missionaries, and the general success which has attended their labours.

2. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly enjoins upon the Missionaries the duty of forwarding their special reports at the close of the ecclesiastical year to the Board, in order that the Assembly may receive for its own information, and that of the churches, a full and accurate account of the condition of its missions.

3. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly expresses its gratification at the number of churches which have become self-sustaining during the year; and also at the increased efforts on the part of Presbyteries to impress upon the missionary churches the duty of liberal contributions for the support of their pastors; and in order to secure a fuller development of the pecuniary resources of the Church, would recommend to the

Presbyteries a careful consideration of the subject at their next stated meeting, with the view of recommending some system of contributions to the churches under their care.

4. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly approves the efforts of the Board to multiply self-sustaining churches, and in their efforts so to do, the Assembly expresses its confidence in the wisdom and prudence of the Board.

5. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Dr. Spring preach the annual sermon on Domestic Missions before the next General Assembly, and that the Rev. A. B. Van Zandt be the alternate.

A memorial from the Synod of Iowa on the subject of Church Extension having been referred to this Committee, the Committee recommended the adoption of the following:

Resolved, That the Board of Missions be requested to employ an agent to raise funds for this object as soon as possible.

Mr. Edwards moved the further consideration of this Report postponed. He could not entirely concur with the Committee in declaring "that the Assembly approves of the efforts of the Board to multiply self-sustaining churches, and in their efforts so to do, the Assembly expresses its confidence in the wisdom and prudence of the Board."

There had not been a sentence in the Report of this Committee which struck on his ear in so powerful a manner as where the Report told the Assembly, with seeming exultation, that they had \$17,000 in their treasury. Mr. Edwards had heard the announcement, not with pleasure, but on the contrary, with much pain; and the manner in which the Board accounted for such a balance being still in their hands, pleased him still less. Mr. Edwards came from a missionary field, and he thought that any confirmation, by this Assembly, of the propriety of retrenching the operations of the Board would be ominous of disaster. The system was pressed with too much severity—the coulter had been set too deep. It might be wise to a certain extent, and it was always the duty of this and of every other Board of the Church to retrench its expenditures whenever it could be done with propriety, but he could not approve the action of the Board in carrying that retrenchment so far. He hoped the Assembly would consent to post-

pone the further consideration of this Report till they had heard the overture from the Synod of Northern Indiana.

Dr. J. Smith concurred in this desire. There were facts stated in that overture which the Committee seemed to have disregarded: when they were stated he felt persuaded that the Assembly would consider them of so much weight as to consent at least to modify the expression of approbation which had been proposed for its adoption by this Committee. He could read documents to show the injurious consequences of the new system of retrenchment on a region containing 50,000 people—from which no less than four missionaries had already been drawn away by it. He admitted that the adoption of the general rule might in many cases have a very happy effect, in others its results were directly the reverse; and unless the course which had been entered upon by the Board should be arrested, nothing but wide-spread desolation would ensue.

Mr. Waller said that the Committee of Bills and Overtures had received an overture from the Synod of Northern Indiana, which would be considered as well entitled to the respectful attention of this body. That report differed widely in its spirit and tone from the resolution now proposed for adoption, and if the House were willing to hear it, the proper course would be to agree to the motion to postpone.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge disclaimed all desire on the part of the Board to suppress inquiry or prevent the fullest discussion; on the contrary, their desire was to throw the whole subject before the Assembly. There was no need of postponing it; let it be disposed of without further delay. Why postpone?—the subject was one of great importance; our feeble churches looked to this Board, which our stronger churches must supply, and if there was anything wrong in the administration of its trust, it was time to sift it to the bottom. Let the overture adverted to be read. Dr. Smith had submitted a communication from himself and Dr. Fairchild, which had been read openly in the Committee; and it was after having heard and listened to that paper with the most respectful consideration that they had recommended the resolution of approbation, which had been objected to. So far from any hesitation in commending the wisdom of the Board in the system of retrench-

ment on which it had entered, his only doubt had been whether they had gone far enough.

It appeared that there were some very large churches, which had been for many years upon the Board—one, especially, consisting of little, if any less than two hundred members, that had been upon its funds for ten or fourteen years; it was represented as being situated in a fine grazing country, and that a church so large and so able should still remain as a burden on the treasury of the Board, seemed to him shocking. Should a fact like that be stated before Dr. Breckinridge's people, when any further demand was made from them on behalf of the Board, they would draw up the mouth of their purses, and nothing more could be obtained in that quarter; and if instances of this kind were suffered to continue, and became generally known, he was bold to say it would operate to cut off all the resources of the Board. It was due to justice, as well as to policy, that such facts should be known. He was for the amplest inquiry. As to the surplus in the treasury, Dr. Jones had sufficiently explained that it was held in reserve against that portion of the year in which nothing came in; and unless some such prudent provision were made beforehand, the Board might be swamped.

Dr. Smith explained, denying that there was any such Church as Dr. Breckinridge alluded to; it must be altogether a mistake. He went into some details—avowing that four missionaries had left the field, giving the great diminution in their allowance as the cause.

Dr. Murray wanted to know whether they had not removed to fields of greater usefulness?

Dr. Smith replied that he did not know.

After some further conversation, the question on postponement was lost.

Mr. Waller moved that the matter of an overture from the Synod of Northern Indiana be substituted for the 4th of the foregoing resolutions. This overture affirms that the Board of Missions is intended to sustain feeble churches, as well as to aid strictly missionary operations, and it proposes that the Assembly recommend to the Board of Missions, in no instance to withhold, or lessen its amount of aid, unless the propriety of

doing so be apparent—stating that the Board of Missions should always pay great regard to the views and wishes of the Presbyteries, in the statements of the Presbyteries as to the amount necessary to sustain the feeble churches in their bounds, and that the Assembly should recommend to the Board to rely with confidence on the liberality of the churches for funds, both to sustain feeble churches and carry on missionary operations.

Mr. Waller desired the most kindly and pacific mode of settling this whole subject; but there was in some portions of the Church a very strong feeling in regard to it: and in the Committee of Bills and Overtures, so wide was the difference of opinion, that he had thought at one time that there must be two reports. But one of the mildest and most conciliating members of the Committee had been appointed as a Sub-Committee, and it was he who reported the resolution, to which the rest of the Committee had agreed. [The Reporter understood him to refer to the substitute.] By adopting it, the Assembly might harmonize all parts of the Church, a discussion would in this way be avoided, which might possibly become of an unpleasant kind. No reflection was intended on the Board of Domestic Missions, none whatever; but there was great sensitiveness on the subject in some quarters.

Dr. Smith disclaimed all purpose of reflecting on the Board. Remembering his personal relations to it, his brother might justly exclaim, *Et tu, Brute!* Yet he wished the Board and its excellent Secretary to consent to some modification in the stringency of the new system.

Dr. Smith here quoted from a letter of Dr. Fairchild, and concluded by deprecating an indiscriminate application of the rules of retrenchment adopted by the Board.

Dr. Magic said that this was a practical matter very hard to manage; there was in it an inherent difficulty. In what the Board had done, it had not at all departed from its original established policy. The idea of perpetuity in the aid granted to feeble churches, had never for a moment been entertained. He admitted that there was a more stringent application of the principle; but the principle was now just what it always had been. And the cases on which it bore hardly were

much fewer than seemed to be supposed. No doubt there were some. There were some old settlements, very small in extent, which had been hanging dependent so long upon the Board that they considered it a great hardship to have their supply of aid diminished. As long as such churches could continue to receive \$100 or \$150 every year, they would continue to lean upon the support of the Board. Such churches needed to be put upon supporting themselves. We should not rashly conclude a policy to be bad because it might work badly in a few particular cases. Dr. Magie had looked into the case, and thought that just such a resolution as had been reported ought to be adopted, and he hoped it would be.

Mr. Stockton thought that the resolution of the Committee covered the whole ground, and was eminently proper. He thought that great discretion should be exercised by the Board, and though he had been much gratified with the general principle avowed by the Secretary in the report, yet he thought it needed care that it did not operate injuriously. The reduction of one-third, or of even one-fourth part from the aid extended to a church, might sometimes operate as a serious injury. There were some churches, however, which thought themselves feebler than they really were, and such would be benefitted, not injured, by an application of the rule. But he thought all that might be safely confided to the discretion of the Board. No doubt many a weak church would need to be sustained from year to year with the utmost care: but if they could be induced to exert themselves somewhat more, it would doubtless be a benefit to their growth and prosperity. He did not think the substitute would accomplish all that was expected from it. He liked the conciseness and the force of the original resolution.

Mr. R. J. McDowell opposed the adoption of the substitute; though it was disclaimed that in its proposal there was any intention to reflect upon the Board, yet the mere refusal to adopt the resolution of recommendation and confidence reported, would seem to admit of such an interpretation. Unless cases were shown that proved the policy of the Board to be injurious to the Church, he trusted the substitute would not carry.

Dr. Smith of Baltimore was in favour of that form of approval agreed to by the Committee on Bills and Overtures. Such a resolution would satisfy the whole Church, but a general approval would not. He thought the Board should look to the opinions of the Presbyteries, and should settle each case on its individual merits, and not apply any indiscriminate sweeping rules.

Mr. Dickson was in favour of the resolution reported by the committee. Ten years ago, such a resolution as the substitute might have been pressed without impropriety; but the state of things in the Church had changed; there were wide tracts of country to be supplied, when the advice of a Presbytery could not be had, because there was no Presbytery there. A Presbytery was very apt to confine its views to the district of country immediately around itself, and not to look beyond. But while it was admitted that each Presbytery was the best judge as to the wants of its own bounds, the Board was the only body that could compare and judge of the wants of the whole. He thought a wide discretion should be entrusted to them; if they abused it, censure them; but do not put a bridle on their action—it would embarrass them. There were in the Presbytery of Washington, from which he came, churches which had received the aid of the Board for twenty years, and were smaller now than at first. This was a wrong state of things. If the sums absorbed by numbers of such feeble churches had been expended at Dubuque, or in some of the rising towns of the far West, it would have accomplished far more for the cause. If the application of the rule produced injury, the churches injured could come here and complain; but surely the growing wants of California and Oregon must be met. If one Presbytery after another should take offence, and withdraw their hands from contributing to the Board, they would soon find their hands wither, and would feel a want of that blessing they withheld from others.

Mr. Baird of Arkansas said it had been his lot, some ten years ago, to fall under the operation of a rule of the Board which had the same tendency with that now complained of. He was then labouring in a church of a hundred years old, and in which there was no prospect that a ministry could ever be

sustained. As a licentiate, he had been ordered there by his Presbytery as a missionary. The Presbytery said they would make up what was lacking for his support, and therefore the Board withdrew its aid, the result of all which was, that he had been started out and compelled to go to the West; and now he occupied a position in Arkansas, where, in a region of 100 by 250 miles, he was the sole Presbyterian minister, or minister of any kind, such as this Assembly would aid or sustain. Under a state of things like this, and while our Church had before it, for its field, the whole world, surely it was better that instead of wasting her means on these old, worn-out, hopeless spots, she should go forth where her energies might be applied with so much more effect for Christ's cause and God's glory. True, if we had funds for both, then both ought to be accomplished; but with what could be raised, he thought it best by far for the Board to go onward. In his own case, he thought retrenchment a very hard policy, but he now rejoiced over its effects on him, and on many beside.

Mr. Edwards wished, before proceeding further, to offer a remark on the overture from Northern Indiana. But before doing this, Mr. Edwards expressed his respect for our various Boards, and the officers placed over them, and especially for the Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, on whom he pronounced an eulogium. He also wished it understood that he had no personal interest in the subject. He had never drawn a cent from the treasury of the Board, nor had he been slack in its service; and he desired that all proper respect and encouragement should be extended to the Secretary, yet he should speak his sentiments freely, and hoped not to be misunderstood.

He next proceeded to notice the great conformity between the Resolutions of the Committee and the language of the Report. So uniform was this, as to lead to the remark, that the resolutions were mere formalities, or little better.

While the Report of the Board was marked throughout by the general spirit of onward missionary progress, that of the Northern Indiana Overture was equally distinguished for its conservative character; it went not only for extension, but for sustentation also. When Dr. Chalmers' address to the Free

churches of Scotland on Economics first came out, it was suggested that there ought to be a new Board established in our Church, to be called the Board of Sustentation, and the plan was fast hastening to a head when the Board of Domestic Missions interposed and declared that *it* was a Board of Sustentation as well as of Church Extension; but their recent policy had departed from sustentation, and pressed exclusively for extension—for *progress*. In support of this position, Mr. Edwards quoted this year's Report.

He reverted to the balance of \$17,000 in the treasury, and contrasted this large sum with the pittance allowed to missionaries, several of whom he named, who had built church after church, yet received not enough to sustain them and their families.

He adverted to the complaints addressed to the Board by different Presbyteries, and stated that his own Presbytery had been told that they had contributed only \$15,50 during the last year, and that their amount of aid must come down. They had canvassed the field, and reported the smallest amount that would meet their necessities; yet the Board had reduced their allowance. The Board claimed to be responsible to the Assembly alone, and was cutting itself off from the Presbyteries, and chilling their affections; and when the Presbyteries applied to the Assembly to know whether this Board was to exercise an unlimited and absolute discretion in the application of the Church's funds, it was announced that the Board must be entrusted with a discretion, and there had been an emphasis laid on the declaration, which rendered it injurious and offensive.

He referred to a mistake in crediting the contributions of one church to another on the books of the Board, and to the consequent censure on those who did not deserve it. He also went into some detail of cases in which the Board had refused what he contended they ought to have granted; observing that the people at the West noticed straws as showing the current of the wind. It was time this Board understood that the Presbyteries had not created a "Third Estate" in the Presbyterian Church, independent of Synods and Presbyteries, but that they were but a Committee of the Assembly, and the Church's

agents, not her rulers. They had ignored conservatism, and disregarded the wishes of the Presbyteries, and if they continued the course they had begun, the churches all over his portion of country would become alienated; the course had already sent great distress into many families.

Mr. Cunningham said, that with all respect, he must, nevertheless protest against such language and such principles. The brother had named churches which had suffered disaster from the retrenching policy of the Board, and the inference meant to be drawn from that fact was that the operation was unjust, and that they ought rather to have received augmented aid. But did the Assembly know their strength; how long they had been receiving aid; and whether they ought to have received it? Mere disaster in particular cases furnished no proof that the policy of the Board was wrong. There were churches whom you could not injure more than by affording them aid. What they wanted was not indulgence, but stimulation, to bring out their latent strength. After the Board had been putting forth its hand and aiding a church for ten or fifteen years, was it not time that they should ask that church whether they could not prune the amount of the subsidy a little? If the Board did not make inquiries of that kind, in quarters where they were needed, he for one would withdraw his mite from its income, and so would many more.

He here adverted to the case of one of the churches mentioned by Mr. Edwards, which, after receiving the aid of the Board for nine years, had, last year, according to his own showing, contributed toward its funds but \$72; and yet such a church could turn round and reproach the Secretary of the Board, and remind him that he was nothing but an agent of the Assembly. True, he was the Assembly's agent—and the Assembly expected that he would see the churches did their duty before he granted them the alms he was set to dispense.

Mr. Edwards would state that while they contributed but \$72 to the Board of Domestic Missions, they had spent over \$5000 for congregational purposes.

Mr. Cunningham resumed—The brother complained that the Board had not respected the wishes of the Presbyteries. He did not speak out the whole meaning, but threw out insinua-

tions, and used language which cast unjust and unmerited censure on the Board. The Assembly was requested to say that "the Board should respect the wishes of the Presbyteries." What did that mean? Why, just that the Presbytery had asked for aid, and the Board had retrenched the amount some ten dollars; and for such an offence as this, the Board must be told that they disregarded the wishes of the Presbyteries! and that they were alienating the Presbyteries! Did he mean that the Board must give any Presbytery whatever it pleased to ask? If that was to be the rule of proceeding, the Board would soon be bankrupt. Mr. Cunningham affirmed that the Board *had* respected the wishes of the Presbyteries, and had aided them to the utmost point of its ability. If there was one feature in the report which commended it to Mr. Cunningham's heart, it was this very system of retrenchment with a view to make our churches self-sustaining, and if the Board should depart from it, the contributing churches would depart from the Board.

The debate on this matter was very protracted. Rev. Dr. Junkin spoke in opposition to the course pursued by the Board, and the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Board commending it for its wisdom and prudence. He called for the reading of the resolutions reported by the Committee of Overtures, demanding the sustentation of churches, as well as strictly missionary operations, and requiring the wishes of the Presbyteries as to appropriations, to regulate in a great measure the action of the Board.

Dr. Murray took the opposite side. He commended the principle on which the Board was acting, in cutting short its supplies to feeble churches, that made no increase, and applying the money where it produced a better effect. He illustrated this by the case of a merchant who established a partner, first at Pittsburgh, but finding he could do better at Zanesville, sent him there, and thence transferred him to St. Louis, where he did best of all. This was the policy of men in secular affairs, and was wise: why not in spiritual and ecclesiastical? If the Board should pursue any other policy, he for one, must vote against the resolution of confidence. He referred to a case in the Synod of New Jersey, an old and numerous body,

where the question of approving this policy was carried against the Board, and against his opposition and protest.

The Board would be censured if it did not take this course, and censured if it did; what was it to do? He insisted that it must regard the whole field, and with an eye to the Judgment, must apply the funds under its trust where they were likely to do most good. He referred to a certain old church in New Jersey, which loudly complained that no missionary was sent to it, although it was a great coal district, and had boundless riches under ground; but the Board's reply was, that they had neither the men nor the money at that time at their command. The present system had had a salutary effect in his Synod. An ancient, hoary church, long on the hands of the Board, had become self-sustaining not only, but a contributor. He could tell the Assembly, that if the Board should abandon the course so much complained of, some of our wealthiest churches would abandon it. It had been threatened, that unless the Board changed its policy, the Synod of Virginia would set up for itself—well, suppose they should, would they be any better off than now? Where would they get any more money? If they left the Board, they would sever the artery through which their life-blood was supplied. Dr. Murray concluded by exhorting brethren to cling together, to put entire confidence in the Board, to pray to God for it, and if they thought that in anything it had acted unwisely, tell the brethren, but tell them in a mild and Christian spirit.

Mr. Waller spoke at length and with great earnest against the resolution. If the resolution proposed by the Committee on Bills and Overtures could be adopted, he thought all might be harmonized. He would heartily vote for approving the motives, zeal, and fidelity of the Board, but adopting resolutions approving the present policy of retrenchment, and putting a *carte blanche* into the hands of the Board, to give or withhold money at its own absolute discretion, and that in the face of earnest remonstrances from Synods and Presbyteries, he never could vote for.

Mr. Edwards said he thought the House were meeting a great evil, viz: the tendency in our Boards to centralization. There was an overshadowing central influence; and its existence

might be traced even in the illustration used by Dr. Murray. If that illustration applied, then the Board had the same power of arrangement as the partner in Philadelphia had over the location of his partner in Pittsburgh or St. Louis. These Boards were not ecclesiastical existences, and yet they were exercising the same power as a Presbytery. It had, however, been said that the Secretary was only obeying the orders of the Assembly. Yes, but he had yesterday shown that these orders were all of his own penning. They all emanated from him. He should like to know whether, in a previous meeting of the Board, the Secretary had not expressly said that he repudiated the sustentation principle? In carrying out his own views, he had got the Assembly to adopt them. Mr. Edwards wanted to be set right. All expressions of personal kindness and confidence were, as he said yesterday, to be taken for granted; but the real difficulty in the case was, that the Board had usurped the power of the Presbyteries. He went into some details as to Fort Wayne Presbytery, all whose statements had been disregarded.

Dr. C. C. Jones, the Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, was introduced to the Assembly, and addressed it at length in reply to objections which had been made, and in full explanation of the policy of the Board.

Dr. Jones commenced by remarking that he was here at the request of the General Assembly, to make some statements in relation to a subject which had occupied its deliberations for two days past. And in the first place, he must express to the Assembly in the name of the Board of Domestic Missions, the highest gratification both they and himself had received from the course of the discussion; it gave them a great deal of satisfaction to observe the openness and candour which had distinguished the views put forth on both sides during the past debate. It was their undoubted right, as it was that of every Presbytery, and every member of the Church, on all fitting occasions, to examine into the economy of the administration of all those who in their name, and as their agents, conducted the business of the Church.

So far as the Board of Missions was concerned, everything was open to the freest examination. They desired their mode

of operation to be fully understood, well assured of this, that the good sense and piety of every friend of Zion would in the end settle down on that policy which had been pursued in the Presbyterian Church *ab origine*. They held this doctrine, as a Board, that neither that nor any other of the Church Boards was either a first, a second, or a "third power," in the Church. They were only a Committee of the Assembly. The Assembly could make, and could unmake them, and it was theirs to keep their own servants in the right path. They had no desire to exercise powers which never had been granted to them.

To say that the Board was infallible, would be saying what was not true—all made mistakes; but one good thing about it was, that where mistakes were discovered they could be rectified. The Board was glad to rectify them: and when through inadvertence they had injured any church, they were prompt to make the *amende honorable*, and to repair the injury, so far as it could be done. The Board was composed of honorable high-minded ministers and elders; who were not assumptive, and not above receiving and profiting by advice. Many of them were business men of great experience and the highest character, who sacrificed time very valuable to them, and sacrificed it freely, devoting it most heartily to the benefit of the Church, and the promotion of Christ's cause in the earth.

Dr. Jones had made these preliminary remarks in order that the Boards might be set right as to their own views of the position they occupied. They were Committees of the Assembly—their rules prescribed by the Assembly, and they were fully responsible to the Assembly, and all their doings liable to be investigated. Dr. Jones was glad of it. He would not have it otherwise. He was against irresponsible power anywhere—in the Church as well as out of it. Hence the discussion had been highly agreeable to him, as developing our interest in the missions of the Assembly, which had cheered his heart. Located at the desk, from week to week, and speaking to his brethren only through the quiet medium of the pen, he desired to see their faces, and to know by personal interview how they felt toward the missionary cause. And he rejoiced that every man here had given undoubtable evidence that the work of Domestic

Missions was dear to his heart. He thought the whole discussion would eventuate in doing much good to the cause.

It had, if he remembered right, been said during this debate, that the Board of Missions was under the control of the chief executive officer of that Board. He had not so understood it. If the remark had been intended to apply to the humble individual who happened now to occupy that position, he was not conscious of it, and had certainly never sought it, nor would he ever knowingly seek any other power but that which a kind Providence should be pleased to confer through the operation of a clear judgment and a rightly directed heart. If any man possessed a clear head and a clean conscience, as long as that man stated or proposed what was clearly right, he was prepared to follow him; because he did not follow him, but truth, of which he was but the exponent. He was prepared to defer to such a man, and to bless God for the opportunity to do so. And as to the manner of doing business in the Board, they were all intelligent, independent men, who met from month to month, and openly discussed the affairs committed to their management; they listened attentively to statements and returns, and gave their opinions pro or con, and as often followed the advice of one as of another. They threw their intelligence into a common stock, and came to their conclusions with much unanimity.

As to his being a Pope, his political principles, as well as his ecclesiastical predilections and associations, give him a very slim chance, should he set up for such a dignity; and besides, he would have too many competitors. (Some laughter.) And, in the second place, Presbyterianism itself was so thoroughly and radically republican, that the mightiest who should engage in such an attempt, might be very sure of being speedily prostrated.

Let him next direct the attention of the Assembly to another thing that had been made a subject of remark, and that was the nomination of members for an ensuing year. A list of such nominations had usually been brought forward by the Committee of the Assembly who had charge of the Board's Report. It was previously put up for inspection in some public place in the church, where all might inspect it beforehand—and every

member had a perfect right to nominate whom he pleased. All was open and above board. And so far from getting in those men only who were agreeable to a single individual, the men were selected here and there, and everywhere; and, in fact, it was a very good thing in practice, that there was this diversity—and for himself he would fully as leave, if not “a little leaver,” (to use a child’s phrase) that there should, at times, exist different and opposite opinions in the Board, as it served to elicit truth.

As to the objection, that the Board gave no answers to communications as to what had been called, by some, its new policy. It was true that the Board had seen such communications, both anonymous and over highly respectable names; but he had never been directed by the Board to reply. He did not feel called upon to answer anonymous communications on any subject; it had been his practice through life never to notice them. Nor were others, which appeared in the public prints, and with names to them, always to be replied to; the question was, whether it was right, expedient, or necessary; and if not, they let it go. Such things might make some impression at the moment, but quickly passed away. If a man meddled with strife that did not concern him, or undertook to set all his neighbours right, his task would outlast the days of Methuselah. There was no necessity; the whole economy of the Board had been explained fully by the publication of an article that had extensive circulation, and the monthly report of the Board was extensively read. Dr. Jones was not much given to writing in the newspapers—he abhorred controversy, and would not touch it; yet the spirit of a man was there, and when the thing had to be done, they would do it—that was a settled matter.

Another remark had been thrown out—he did not know that he understood it; but it had been intimated that a threat had been made by the Secretary of the Board, that if the Board did not conform itself to his views, he would resign. This was all news to him. He had not heard of it before. No members of the Board had ever told him of it; and it was profoundly new.

Dr. Jones next alluded to some intimation that the Synod of

New Jersey was dissatisfied with the course of the Board, and would probably withdraw from under its care.

Dr. Murray distinctly disavowed for the Synod any such purpose.

Dr. Jones was glad to hear it. He noticed what had been said of some other Synods, and went into some statistics to show that the Board was largely in advance to many of them, and giving it as his advice that if they wanted these feeble churches sustained, they had better pause a little before they withdrew. He noticed these particular cases, in order to show that the Board was trying to do its duty; and he put it to the Assembly to say when the Board was pressed with applications for missions from all quarters of the country, especially from the South and from the South-west, whether it was not right to examine a little into the condition of things in these old and feeble congregations, and to ask whether they could not begin now, and take care of themselves? and whether if they should not do so, they would not be directed to duty? They must do it; the path of duty was perfectly plain. He stated and explained the mode of supplying and paying ministers either independently or through the Presbyteries. In some cases the Presbyteries sent to the Board all moneys collected in their bounds for Domestic Missions, and made application to the Board for missionaries; the Board met them and made up whatever was needed to pay them. In other cases the Presbytery raised on the ground what was needed, and applied to the Board to commission the persons employed; and the money raised went through the accounts of the Board. After some further explanatory remarks, he went on to state how the business was conducted in the office. When he came into office the whole system had to be remodelled. As soon as he could get competent clerks, he had a new set of books opened, on the double entry system; and the accounts were now so fully methodized, that a person who understood book-keeping, could begin at one end and find out, by going through, every thing that had been done. He had himself been bred in a counting-room; and he would say, that if accounts were to be kept straight, rules must be strict, and strictly enforced. Their Treasurer was a thorough merchant and accountant.

In the matter of the reduction, the Board found itself between two fires. Some Presbyteries and members said to them, reduce your salaries, or we quit: while others have said, if you go on with your reductions we must quit. Which would the House recommend them to do? What ought they to do? Just what they had done. They should go on, kindly, but firmly, and do their duty to the whole Church.

As to the surplus of \$17,000, of which so much had been said, he had not thought it would give brethren distress to learn that they had money wherewith to pay their debts. For himself, he had felt very much pleased when the Treasurer came to him and announced the cheering fact. How the surplus got there he had already explained. It arose from additional contributions on the one hand, and from the fact that fifty-six churches within the last year had ceased to be dependent on the Treasury for a single dollar.

This was a clear saving: it put the Board on its legs and enabled them to lift up their faces to heaven and thank God that they "owed no man anything." And after all, this was but a working balance, ready to meet those months of the year when comparatively little came in. It belonged to our missionaries and they would get it as their stipends became due.

Dr. Jones then took up the subject of aid to feeble churches, and went, in substance, into a re-declaration of the grounds of the procedure of the Board in gradually reducing these allowances, with a view to rendering them self-sustaining, which he had made in his Report to the Assembly, and which have been already very fully reported.

He contended that this was no new policy; that it was due to the existing state of the Church; was wise and righteous, and had received the Divine blessing.

Mr. Halliday thought the question had been sufficiently debated, and, therefore, called the previous question, which was sustained, and the contested resolution was adopted.

A motion being made to append the resolutions submitted by the Committee on Bills and Overtures, to those on the Report of the Board of Missions, on motion the subject was laid on the table. Mr. Edwards gave notice that he would enter his protest against this decision.

We have given much space to the record of the debate respecting the Board of Missions, because we regard the principles involved of general and permanent interest. The two main points at issue were, the relation of the Board to the Presbyteries, and the principle that the Board is a missionary and not a sustentation organization. As to the former of these questions, it seemed to be contended for, on the one side, that the Board was bound to obey the Presbyteries as their agent in the appropriation of the funds under its control; and on the other, that while great respect is due to the wishes and resolutions of Presbyteries, the Board is the final judge, as to what churches shall be assisted, what shall be the amount of the aid furnished, and how long that aid shall be continued. Perhaps the truth, as commonly, lies in the middle. The Board cannot be under a hundred masters, each having the right to say what is to be done with money derived from the whole Church. The Board is intrusted with a certain income, to be appropriated for the support and spread of the gospel. They must of necessity have a large discretion in the disposition of this income. They must distribute it, not agreeably to the wishes of a Presbytery limiting its views to its own necessities, but agreeably to the relative necessities of the whole Church. This is plain, and, therefore, whenever a Presbytery recommends a particular church to the Board for aid, it is competent for the Board to decide whether, consistently with other demands, they are able to furnish the required assistance, and to what extent. As to the question of their *ability* to afford aid in any given case, the Board must be the judge. But as to the question whether a particular church *deserves* aid, whether it ought to sustain itself, or if not able to do so, be abandoned to its fate, the case is very different. The ability to decide, and the right to decide these questions, as it seems to us, are with the Presbyteries. It is evident that a central committee of a half dozen brethren in Philadelphia cannot know the circumstances of every missionary church in the country, and be able to sit in judgment on the question what each can do in the matter of self-support, and whether the post is worth maintaining or not. Besides, it is the prerogative of the Presbyteries to judge of all questions of this nature respecting the churches within their own bounds.

For the Board to say, we *cannot* aid a church, because we have not the money, is one thing. But to say, we *will not* aid it, because we think it ought to sustain itself, is a very different thing. In the one case, the Board keeps its place as the agent of the Church, in the other, it sets itself over the Church, by putting up its judgment against the judgment of the only competent tribunal for the decision of the matter. It is analogous to the case of the Board of Education. That Board is not bound to aid every young man recommended by the Presbyteries. On the questions how many candidates it can assist, and to what extent it can aid them, the decision is with the Board. But it cannot sit in judgment on the decisions of the Presbytery and reverse them, and say, we *will not* assist a candidate whom you pronounce worthy, because we think him unworthy. This would be to invest the Executive Committee of the Board of Education with Presbyterian powers over the whole Church. If a Presbytery pronounces a man worthy, the Board of Education cannot refuse to aid him on the ground of his unworthiness, though it may on the ground of the lack of funds. In like manner, the Board of Missions may decline aid to a congregation recommended by a Presbytery, on the ground of the want of funds, but not on the ground that it does not need aid, or ought not to have it. This principle secures the Board its independence, and full discretionary power in the control of its funds, and at the same time it secures the Presbyteries in the exercise of their undoubted right. It is the actual or apprehended disregard of this principle on the part of the Board, which seems to have excited so much opposition in various parts of the Church. To have a committee in Philadelphia sitting in judgment on the question, whether a church in Indiana ought to be assisted, or should sustain itself, and reversing the decision of its Presbytery as to that point, and to claim and exercise the same power over every Presbytery in our connexion, may well excite opposition. How long would the Church tolerate the Committee of the Board of Education, rejudging the judgments of all the Presbyteries as to the qualification of candidates for the ministry. We do not know that the Board of Missions claim the power to which we object; but if they do, as the Assembly has repeatedly sustained their

course, the remedy is to be found in friendly discussion, until the views of the Church are settled, and then they will not fail to express themselves through the Assembly. We repeat the statement of what appears to us the true doctrine, that it may be distinctly apprehended by our readers. The Board of Missions has the right to the distribution of its funds at its own discretion, and may, therefore, decline to aid a church recommended by a Presbytery, on the ground of the want of funds. But it has no right to set its judgment over that of the Presbyteries, as to whether a given church ought to be aided. The question how much money can be granted to a particular field, rests with the Board; but the question, what churches within its own bounds shall be aided, rests with the several Presbyteries. And we think the practical recognition of this clear distinction, would go far towards producing harmony and cordial co-operation, instead of growing discontent, such as was manifested in the Synod of New Jersey last fall, in several of the Synods of the West, and on the floor of the General Assembly.

As to the second question, the difference of opinion seems to be this: The Board on the one hand appears to regard itself as almost exclusively a missionary institution, designed to aid in the formation and support of new churches. If, after due trial, such churches do not become self-sustaining, they are to be dropped, and the funds appropriated to more productive fields. On the other hand it is contended, that the object of the Board is two-fold, the formation of new churches and the support of feeble ones. The most zealous advocates of the missionary character of the Board would not deny that the support of feeble churches, however long established, came within its legitimate province; and the most zealous of the other side would not deny that the proper missionary work was the primary object for which the Board was instituted. The difference seems to relate to the relative importance of these two objects. The complaint is, that the Board is regarded too exclusively as a missionary institution, and that churches are abandoned, at its discretion, who do not within a certain time promise to be self-sustaining. It is certainly competent to the Church to found an institution whose exclusive object shall be the support of

missionaries, as distinguished from pastors, and from whom aid shall be withdrawn as soon as a church is organized and a pastor is settled. But it will not be asserted that our Board of Missions is such an institution. It was designed for the two-fold object of founding new churches and aiding in the support of feeble ones. There would be no room for dispute as to how far the latter object was to be prosecuted, if the relation of the Board to the Presbyteries were regarded in the light in which we have presented it above. It rests with the Presbyteries to say how long the churches within their bounds shall receive aid, because they alone are competent to form a correct judgment, and to them belongs the right of judgment. But besides this, we fully agree with those brethren who contended against making "self-sustentation the great principle of our missionary operations." We hold that this is unscriptural, unjust, and unwise.

It is unscriptural, because the Lord has ordained that "they who preach the gospel shall live by the gospel." It is a clear principle of the word of God, binding on the Church, that every minister devoted to his work is entitled to a competent support. It is no less clear that the duty to provide such support rests on the whole Church, and not exclusively on the particular congregation whom the minister may serve. This duty arises from the unity of the Church, and from the command of Christ to preach the gospel to every creature. This command binds the whole Church, and in reference to the whole world. It is clearly the duty of those who are able to secure the gospel being preached to the scattered thousands in our Western States, and this duty surely does not cease to be obligatory in reference to those who, though unable to sustain a minister, organize themselves into a church and contribute what they can to his support. We cannot but regard, therefore, as unscriptural, the plan of casting off all churches who are too feeble to sustain themselves, or of insisting that every minister should look exclusively to his own congregation for support.

As this plan is unscriptural, so also is it eminently unjust. Justice does not demand that the income of all preachers of the gospel should be equal, for the difference in the expense of living in different places and other circumstances render this

impossible. But it does demand that every minister should have a competent support, and that one should not be left to starve while the others have more than they need. On what principle of justice can it be defended, that ministers of the same church, serving the same Master, doing the same work, devoting equal energy and talent to the same cause, should be allowed to want the necessities or comforts of life, while others are sustained in affluence. We know it is said, as we have heard it said, that men, to be ministers and missionaries, should be willing to endure hardships, and to make sacrifices in the service of Christ. This is very true, but it is true of all ministers, not of a particular class of them. All the hardness ought not to be thrown on the backs of the devoted and the self-denying. The government may order one officer to the smooth waters of the Mediterranean and another to the Arctic ocean, but it extends its fostering care alike over both, and secures for each a competent support. It does not first establish the principle of self-support, and then place one in a paradise and another on an iceberg, and expect to prevent all remonstrance from the latter, by telling him, "A soldier must endure hardships." Where there is equality of labour, of service, and of responsibility, let there be, as far as possible, an equality not of income, but of support. As this scheme is unscriptural and unjust, so it is eminently unwise. It is unwise so to cramp our younger ministers that they are unable to procure books, or to secure time for study. It is unwise to force them to devote so much of their attention to the means of support. Hundreds of our ministers are obliged to give one half or two-thirds of their time to make a living for themselves and their families. It is unwise to make preaching the gospel to the poor a penalty; to punish those who undertake that service with poverty, and force them to forego the privilege, or to see their wives sinking into domestic labourers, and their children growing up without the means of cultivation. It is unwise to pursue a system which must produce heart-burning and discontent in a large class of our ministers. They cannot but feel, and they do feel, that they are the subjects of a great practical injustice; and when they see their more favoured brethren voting that every church must be self-supporting; that the

minister of a poor congregation must be contented with a poor living, they cannot help feeling aggrieved. And finally and especially is it unwise for Presbyterians to confine their preaching to a certain class of the people. The determination that every Presbyterian church shall sustain itself, is a determination that we will preach the gospel only to the rich, or, at most, to those who are able to pay for it. Woe betide us, whenever any such determination shall receive the deliberate sanction of our Church. It is already our reproach, that the poor are excluded by our system from our churches; that our plan of making each congregation sustain itself, thus throwing the support of the preacher upon the hearers, shuts our church doors, even in our cities, upon thousands. This is a novel principle. It has no sanction from Scripture or from the practice of God's people. In no age and in no country has the Church acted on the principle that every separate congregation should sustain itself. This was not the practice of the first centuries, nor of the middle ages, nor of the period of the Reformation, nor of any of the churches of Europe, nor of our noble brethren of the Free Church of Scotland. We do earnestly hope the Presbyterian Church will save itself from the reproach and curse of being only for the rich. We do not see how this result is to be avoided, if the principle is to be carried out, that every congregation must support its own minister.

No complaint was made on the floor of the Assembly, and we have heard no complaint, as to the spirit, the ability, or enterprise, with which the service of the Board of Missions is conducted. The only difference is, as to the principles which should control its action. These principles can only be settled by free discussion. We hope, therefore, that the matter will not rest with the decision of the last Assembly, but that the discussion may continue until some plan is hit upon which shall satisfy all parties. Such plan, we are persuaded, while it secures the proper independence and discretion of the Board in the distribution of their funds, must preserve to the Presbyteries their right of saying to what churches the aid granted shall be applied, and how long that aid shall be continued. It must also secure from want those who are honoured of God in being called to preach the gospel to the poor.

Theological Seminaries.

The Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge presented several reports at different times, from the Standing Committee on Seminaries. One of these related to the existing institutions. First, the Union Seminary in Virginia: the relation subsisting between the General Assembly and the Union Theological Seminary are of an exceedingly intimate and responsible kind. As appears from the Minutes of the General Assembly for 1826 and 1827, this body has a "negative on all appointments to the offices of Professors and Trustees," and "on all general laws and rules adopted for its government;" the right, if it shall appear that in any respect it is so managed as to be injurious to the interests of truth, piety, and good order, "of appointing visitors to examine into the state of the Seminary, of requiring the dismissal of any unsound Professor, and, in case of refusal, to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary in the case." The bodies controlling said Seminary, are therefore required "annually to send up to the General Assembly a detailed report of all their transactions relating to the Seminary," disapprobation of which by the Assembly, renders them null and void. The authority thus vested in the General Assembly entitles that important institution to a share in our attention, confidence, and co-operation, which, we are persuaded, it has never enjoyed. The Committee finds nothing in this report requiring special notice; and would recommend the adoption of the following resolutions: 1. Directing the report to be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes. 2. That this Assembly declares anew its full confidence in the management of that important institution, and hearty concurrence in the measures used to extend its sphere of usefulness, and place its interests on a permanent basis.

Mr. Van Zandt, of Virginia, made a brief statement in relation to the Theological Seminary at Prince Edward. He was glad the Committee on Seminaries had discovered the fact that that Seminary had not received from the Assembly the fostering care to which it was entitled. The people of Virginia re-

garded it as of great value and importance, and so did many in North Carolina; but it had been suffered to slide into the shade. An impression seemed to prevail at the far South, and in the North and West, that Union Seminary was extinct, or at least in the last stages of a precarious existence. He wished to counteract that impression by a statement of facts. Although this institution had not been favoured with the patronage of the Assembly, yet so far from its dying, or being likely to die, its prospects were brightening daily. Sixty thousand dollars of well vested funds; buildings and accommodations for from fifty to seventy-five students; a Faculty of from three to five Professors, and ample extent of land all around it, were among some of its advantages. There were now three Professorial Chairs—two had been possessed for many years—there was now a third. Efforts were making, with good prospect of success, for the establishment of ten Scholarships, similar to those in Princeton Seminary. He wished the Assembly to understand that there was such a place as “the South.” Though it was neither beyond the Alleghany mountains, nor north of Mason and Dixon’s line. Union Seminary was the child of prayer, and its interests had been fostered by men whose names had long been held in honourable remembrance. Its corps of Professors were second to none; and it enjoyed the perfect confidence of the neighbouring Synods, who felt a great interest in its prosperity.

Mr. Van Zandt offered these statements, that this institution might be kept in remembrance when the Assembly came to discuss the question of the position of a new Theological Seminary.

This part of the Report was then adopted.

The next portion of the Report was then taken up, and is as follows:

Resolutions presented by the Committee on Seminaries, in reference to the Western Theological Seminary, were adopted:

1. Expressive of the gratification of the General Assembly at the continued prosperity of the institution, and commending it to the prayers, confidence, and patronage of the Church, as well adapted to answer the great objects of its establishment.
2. Rejoicing in the success which has crowned the efforts of the

Board in liquidating all its pecuniary liabilities, and in completing the endowment of three Professorships; and reversing the recommendation of the last Assembly to the Board, to endeavour, as soon as practicable, to endow a fourth Professorship, and also to erect houses on the Seminary grounds for all the Professors. 3. Regretting the resignation of Dr. Alexander T. McGill, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, where his services have been so long, so acceptably, and so usefully enjoyed; and that it is absolutely necessary for the best interests of this institution, and of the Church, that said Professorship be filled without delay. 4. That the request of the Board, to be permitted to extend the term of vacation two weeks beyond its present limits, be granted.

A brief conversation arose as to the language used in relation to the resignation of Dr. McGill; but no alteration in it was made.

The third portion of the Report was next taken up, which relates to the Princeton Seminary, the first part of which, relating to the Scholarship Fund, was referred to the Committee on Finance; the remainder, which was then adopted, recommended that, inasmuch as the Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D.D., having declined the appointment tendered him of the Professorship of *Pastoral Theology, Church Government, and the Composition and Delivery of Sermons*—this is a suitable time to make an election to that Chair, and that it be done according to the prescribed mode; and that the term of service of *seven ministers and three ruling elders*, Directors of the Seminary, expiring at this time, that this number should be elected. It was also

Resolved, 1. That the Reports of the Directors and Trustees of the Seminary be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes.

2. That the Assembly views with great satisfaction the evidences of the continued prosperity of this important Institution, contained in the official Reports laid before it; and, encouraged by the smiles of God so long enjoyed there, exhorts all who are in any way connected with it, to continued faithfulness in the great work in which they are engaged.

The last portion of the report, relative to the formation of a new Theological Seminary in the West, states that the papers from the various bodies and various parts of the West, on the subject, which had been already before the Assembly, had been considered by them. It also adverts to the importance of the object aimed at, and then proceeds to state that the whole region interested in this enterprise—so far as it is Presbyterian at all—appears, before this Assembly, not only voluntarily, but emphatically pledged—1. To the point that the Assembly ought to establish an additional Seminary of the first class in the West. 2. That the Assembly itself ought to determine, by a vote of its members, at this time, the place where it should be built up. 3. That no other Theological Seminary shall be set up or carried on, in the same general region, by our judicatories or people, if the Assembly will now do what is desired of it, in the premises; at least until the project of the Assembly shall have had a full trial. The Committee is therefore of opinion, that the call of God's providence is clear to the Assembly, and that it should now go forward in dependence on Divine strength and guidance in so great an enterprise. It therefore recommends the adoption of the following resolutions:

First. The Assembly will now decide, by a majority of votes of its members, at what point in the West a new Theological Seminary shall be established by it.

Second. It will, by God's help, establish at the point to be thus designated, and with the least possible delay, a new Theological Seminary of the first class.

Third. The Committee on Seminaries is charged with the duty of laying before this Assembly, in the meantime, and with the least practicable delay, a plan for the endowment of said Seminary, and for raising the funds necessary for setting it up and sustaining it.

Fourth. The same Committee is charged with the further duty of laying before this Assembly a plan for the organization of the Seminary itself, as to Professors, Directors, Trustees, students, and the course of studies.

The first resolution, determining to fix the location of the new Seminary now, being read, it was adopted, leaving the blank unfilled which designates the place for the Seminary.

On motion of Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, it was resolved to proceed at this time to fill the blank.

Nominations being called for, Dr. Wood nominated New Albany; Mr. McKinley, Peoria; Mr. Young, (by order of his Synod) St. Louis; Mr. Smith, Nashville; Mr. Pharr, Danville; Dr. Lord of Ohio, Cincinnati.

On motion of Dr. Murray, it was agreed that the claims of the respective places nominated be stated to the Assembly previously to taking the vote.

The real contest was between New Albany, St. Louis, and Danville.

In favour of New Albany, the Rev. Dr. Woods made a long and effective argument. The principal points urged in favour of the selection of New Albany were: 1. The fact that an institution already existed there, under the patronage and control of seven Synods. This Seminary had, by a vote of its Directors, and with the sanction of the Synods, been offered to the General Assembly, with all its appurtenances and endowments. It was evidently better to accept that offer, and to build on a foundation already laid, than to commence elsewhere entirely anew. 2. Its geographical position was favourable. It stands in the centre of the great basin east of the Mississippi, and west of the Alleghenies; nearly midway between Pittsburgh and St. Louis, and Chicago and Nashville. It was, therefore, easy of access to all the people for whose benefit the new Seminary was specially designed. 3. Its being within the limits of a free State, and on the borders of a slaveholding State, makes it neutral ground; the precise locality to which the North and South could, with equal confidence, send their young men to be educated. 4. The Seminary was already partially endowed; property to a very considerable amount must be sacrificed, if any other location should be adopted. The total amount of property belonging to the Seminary was \$50,000. 5. The location had been deliberately fixed upon by a convention held in 1838, and had commanded the general approbation of the West from that day to this. If the West was to have, and to sustain the Seminary, the West should determine its location. Public sentiment in the West, it was contended, was

decidedly in favour of New Albany. 6. The place is healthy, and the expense of living is small.

The claims of St. Louis were ably advocated by Rev. Samuel McPheeters, who gained great credit by his whole bearing during the discussion. Though it was his first appearance as a member of the Assembly, and though he was opposed to some of the ablest and most experienced men in the Church, he is universally regarded as having done full justice to the cause he advocated. The great arguments in favour of St. Louis were: 1. Its central geographical position, not so much for the population that now is, as for that which is to come. It is the centre of the great valley of the Mississippi; and of easy access from all portions of that immense region. 2. It was not only the geographical, but the vital centre. Thither all streams tend; and thence controlling influences must flow forth. The Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri meet at St. Louis, and bear on their waters not only the commerce but the life of the West. Where these great rivers meet must be not only the centre of wealth, but the centre of influence. 3. The Romanists, wise as serpents, see all this, and are making St. Louis their head-quarters for the whole West. Presbyterians should not yield the ground to them. The presence of Romish institutions in that place, was a strong reason in favour of our making it the seat of a general Theological Seminary for the West. 4. The Seminary, if placed at St. Louis, would have its own sufficient field whence to draw its resources of money and students, without interfering with any other existing Seminaries, which, it was contended, could not be said of any other proposed location. 5. There was every reasonable prospect of an adequate endowment. Fifty thousand dollars had been pledged, but a much larger sum would doubtless have been offered, had the question been seen to turn on the ease of endowment. 6. The Synod of Illinois, it was stated, preferred St. Louis, and another Synod had unanimously endorsed the resolution in favour of that location. The Assembly, therefore, might be assured that a large part of the West would be gratified by a decision in favour of that place.

The claims of Danville were urged by Drs. R. J. and W. L. Breckinridge, at great length, and with all the ability for which

they have long been distinguished. They began by urging objections to the other places named. As it regards St. Louis, it was said, it was situated at the very verge of the population whose interests were intended to be served. Kentucky, Tennessee; Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, all lie to the east of that position, while to the west of it there are only the State of Missouri and the wild Indian region. For generations, St. Louis must be as much on the western, as Pittsburgh is on the eastern border of the mass of population in the Mississippi valley. 2. The expense of living in a large town would render the support of the professors and students far more burdensome to the Church than in either of the other locations. 3. Strong objections were made to large cities as places for theological seminaries. 4. The fact that the Synod of Missouri is numerically a small body, and that the territory within its limits is almost entirely missionary ground, rendered it very undesirable to throw upon that part of the Church the burden of founding and conducting a first-rate seminary. The brethren and churches there had more than they could do in supplying the demands already existing among them. 5. The delegates from Missouri on the floor of the Assembly were not united—some of them were the open advocates of a different location.

As to New Albany, it was argued the experiment had been tried and failed. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said: The Seminary at New Albany had been a matter of effort with the West for the last twenty-five years. During all that length of time, she had been trying to build up a seminary, of which New Albany was the general representative and the general legatee. And what had been the result of these twenty-five years of labour, all under the same control, and all on the north side of the Ohio river? A dead failure; a failure; a dead failure—absolute and thorough.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge, after referring to his zeal in behalf of the New Albany Seminary, and passing a high eulogium on its professors, said:—But the whole aspect of the institution had changed—it had run down—nor could anything else be made of it. The thing had gone down: it had come, if not to what the wagoners called the “dead balk,” it was very near, and all expected it would come to a dead stand-still. He said

these things with pain; but the brethren of this Assembly would be misled if they should think otherwise. New Albany was at a dead stop. The brethren were disheartened; they had nearly lost all hope. Even the beloved brother (for he was a good and beloved brother), who had so ably advocated and defended that seminary, could not conceal the fact that he was disheartened. The condition of the institution resembled that of a once prosperous merchant, whose affairs, by one misfortune after another, had run down, and who apprehended that he was, or should soon become a bankrupt. It was not, necessarily, his own fault: he might be perfectly blameless in the whole matter, but still the fact could not be concealed that he was insolvent and must wind up his affairs. Of the former friends of the institution, some were alienated, and some openly and decidedly opposed. Was it not, under circumstances like these, the part of wisdom to make a new movement, and to try elsewhere? As to removing the seminary from that location, being in any degree discreditable to the brethren who had done their duty to the seminary so long and so well, Dr. Breckinridge had felt surprised that the thought should be entertained for a moment. Was it discreditable to a merchant, who after trying one street did not succeed, to try his hand in another place?

To show that New Albany was no longer solvent as an institution, it was sufficient to show that *it had no funds!* And surely no man but one that was unhappily alone in the world (and such beings were not often fit for much), would go there and labour unless collections were taken up from time to time to pay his butcher's and his baker's bills. The only actual income of the institution was at this time about \$600—half a salary to support half a man! To be sure they showed on paper a large fund of one sort or another; but it was scattered from Dan to Beersheba, and it would cost more to get it than it would be worth when it was got. A man must get on a horse and ride two days before he could find the man who had given his note for \$10 or \$25. The real estate had been sold to pay professors; and what was worst of all, the funds of the church on the north side of the river had been solicited again and again, till that was *out*. In the Board of Directors he had

told them that \$1200 ought always to be counted on from our Synod, but no more; and unless they could make up the deficit from their funds on the north side of the river, they had better wind up and quit. This was before any other place was talked of. With salary but for a man and a half—their hopes from Indiana gone—from Cincinnati gone—what could they do? Those brethren had been most liberal—the world could show none more so, but they were wearied out, and the thing was *done*. On the honour of a Christian gentleman, he could say to the Assembly, if they looked for any more aid to that institution, they would be mistaken. If it was to be endowed at all, the Assembly must endow it—and where would they go to get the money? To Philadelphia?—to New York?—to Baltimore? Would Pittsburgh open her churches? Would the churches in the South? They might, possibly, out of kindness, do a little, but they were shut up to the support of Princeton. In a word, he would sooner bind himself to go to California, and come back again with the money needed for New Albany, than to raise it in any other way.

Another objection to New Albany was said to arise from the laws of the State in relation to corporations. It was asserted that no safe charter could be obtained in Indiana. “In the existing state of her legislature, the Assembly could not get a charter, or, if she did, the corporators might change it in a moment. These legal difficulties were far too great to be passed over, if they did really exist, then they were conclusive of the question as to New Albany.”

As to Danville, the first argument was drawn from the objections to the other places named. If they were all out of the question, the Assembly “was shut up to Danville.” But secondly, the money for the endowment of a first class institution could be obtained within the bounds of Kentucky. There were already \$20,000 safely and profitably invested; \$60,000 additional were pledged by men whose “promise would be bankable in any part of Kentucky.” In fifteen or eighteen days one congregation had subscribed \$20,000, and ground for a site. Ten acres of land had been offered, and as much more as might be needed. The money-argument in favour of Danville was as strong as it well could be. Thirdly,

Danville was accessible by the railroads now in the course of construction to all parts of the West. Fourthly, It is a cheap, retired, collegiate town, exactly suited for such an institution. Fifthly, It is the seat of a flourishing Presbyterian College, of whose charter and immunities great use could be made. Sixthly, It is south of the river Ohio, and in the bosom of a slaveholding State. The other institutions under the care of the Assembly were in the free States. There was, therefore, an obvious propriety in the new Seminary being placed south of the Ohio. To refuse to place it there on the ground that northern students would not go south, was a reason which the south would not hear, and which "calm, rational, northern men" would not sanction. Men on that floor coming from the whole south, would, it was said, hardly join with half or whole abolitionists in voting against a location in a slaveholding State. Other things being equal, there was a strong reason, therefore, for a southern location.

Dr. Breckinridge said, that the state of things was reduced to this, that the Assembly must have a seminary at Danville, or not at all. They began to feel this; and, therefore, some gentlemen were commencing to talk about putting off the choice to another meeting of the Assembly. But if the Assembly decided on Danville as the place, they might have a seminary there *now*. The funds were ready—and they might open their school on the first of September. They might make their choice between this result, or taking another spot, and having an institution on paper, that should linger out a dubious existence and then expire. To be sure, the location was not a matter set up for sale; but the funds for endowment were a matter that must be looked at. Brethren all knew what the Bible said about sitting down and counting the cost—and what derision the man was exposed to who did not begin by doing it. Funds were not pledged either at St. Louis, Cincinnati, New Albany, or Nashville—nothing would do *now* but Danville. Then the thing could be done, and done on the spot. There were \$60,000 now ready—and he would just as leave have said \$100,000—for any one of the twelve men who had offered that sum, could get on his horse, and could raise the other \$40,000 in six months, if the Assembly would go cordially into the

thing. If the Synod of Kentucky would authorize him, and the Synod of Tennessee would give their assent, he would not be afraid to undertake it himself. If then the Assembly believed what they said, the thing was done *now*. And gentlemen who had so much zeal on the subject of slavery, ought to remember that the whole question of the education of the slave population belonged to those south of Mason and Dixon's line; it was open to them, and to none else, and they were awake to that subject. Indeed, a great deal too much glorification had been made of what they were doing in the matter: but he placed the subject before the Assembly for its serious reflection. Nothing of this could be done on the north side of the river—it could not be even touched at St. Louis—but its operation would be to throw open the gospel to the slave, and he begged the Assembly to consider the relations of the Presbyterian Church to the education of the black race.

When the vote was taken, the result was—For New Albany, 33; for St. Louis, 78; for Danville, 122; leaving a clear majority in favour of Danville of 11 votes.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge thereupon moved that solemn thanksgiving be offered to Almighty God, with earnest prayer for his divine blessing on what had been done. The motion was unanimously agreed to, and the Moderator, accordingly, with much solemnity and earnestness, addressed the throne of the heavenly grace.

The decision of this important question rested with the West. Had the Church in that region been united, no opposition would have been made to their wishes. Being, however, so much divided among themselves, the votes of the south and east were cast according to individual conviction.

There has been a diversity of opinion as to whether we should have few or many theological seminaries. Some would restrict the number to three—one for the East, one for the South, and one for the West; others would have them as numerous as our Synods. The reasons against the undue multiplication of such institutions are so obvious and weighty, that the general idea when the Assembly met, undoubtedly was, that only one seminary should be established for the whole region west of the appropriate limits of the institution at Allegheny. The loca-

tion of the new seminary at Danville, seems to be universally regarded as a renunciation of that idea. The very advocates of that location admitted that the time would soon come when another institution would be demanded for the northwest. Supposing the Assembly to have given up the idea of one central Seminary, the decision in favour of Danville is sufficiently intelligible. Apart from the commanding personal influence enlisted in its favour, it was made apparent that there were zeal and strength enough in Kentucky at once to found and endow the Seminary, whereas, if it was placed elsewhere, it would either have to struggle for existence, or to look to the distant parts of the Church for support. We do not see why this should be so, but such was doubtless the impression under which the Assembly voted. The decision having been made, and a location selected which offers so many advantages, we think it the obvious part of wisdom for all concerned to submit. Let the West rally round the new Seminary, and get it fairly established, before another is even thought of. There can be no need for any other institution besides those at Allegheny and Danville, for years to come—and it will only alienate and weaken to have new projects now started.

The Committee on Seminaries, after considering the additional matters referred to it, recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, as containing provision, adequate for the present, for all the objects contemplated, as necessary to the organization of the new Theological Seminary, to be established in the West:

1. The new Seminary shall be called the Danville Theological Seminary, under the care of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Its first session shall be opened at Danville, Kentucky, on the 13th day of October, 1853, under the care of the Professors to be elected by the present Assembly, or as many of them as may accept the chairs tendered to them.

2. The Assembly will proceed, on Tuesday the 31st of May, at ten o'clock A. M., to elect four persons as Professors in the said Seminary, who, upon signifying their acceptance of their said offices, respectively, by note in writing, addressed to the Moderator, for the time being, of the General Assembly, shall be fully invested with the right of office; and shall thenceforth

hold their respective chairs during the pleasure of the General Assembly; and they shall be inducted into office with such formalities as the Board of Directors, to be appointed by this Assembly, shall direct. The chairs to be thus filled, to be called by the same names, and to have attached to them the same subjects, studies, and duties as are now provided for by the plan for the Theological Seminary at Princeton; and the Professors of the new Seminary shall receive, as a compensation for their services, the sum of \$1500 a year each, payable half yearly; and also a house to reside in—which said houses shall be provided only when the state of the funds of the Seminary will conveniently allow of their purchase or erection; and the said plan for Princeton, as now existing, shall be in force, in all respects, in the new Seminary, until the further order of the General Assembly—except so far as its provisions may conflict with any action of the present General Assembly.

3. The Board of Directors shall consist of twenty-seven ministers and twenty-seven ruling elders, any nine of whom, met at the appointed time and place, shall be a quorum to do business. The whole of these shall be elected during the present sessions of the Assembly; but they shall be so elected, as that one-third of each class shall go out of office annually. The first meeting of the Board shall take place at Danville, Kentucky, on the first day of September, 1853—or as soon thereafter as may be possible. At which time they shall provide for the organization of the Seminary, and the induction of the Professors into office at that time, or as soon afterwards as may be convenient.

4. William L. Breckinridge, Edward P. Humphrey, William C. Matthews, Samuel Cassady, William Richardson, J. S. Berryman, or any three of them, shall be a Committee to take charge of the whole matter of raising funds to endow the said Seminary—with power to appoint one or more agents to do the work. They shall report their proceedings to the General Assembly from year to year, and shall continue to act till the further order of the Assembly.

5. Robert J. Breckinridge, Thomas W. Bullock, Benjamin Warfield, Richard Pindell, James Matthews, J. Wood Wilson, John A. Lyle, and John D. Matthews, or any three of them, shall be a committee to arrange with the Synod of Kentucky,

and the Trustees of the Central College of Kentucky, the terms and conditions on which the General Assembly can use and enjoy, on its own behalf, and for the purposes of the said Theological Seminary, the charters, franchises, and benefits, held, and capable of being afforded, by said Synod and College. They shall also endeavour to procure from the Legislature of Kentucky an act of incorporation for a Board of Trustees for the General Assembly, similar in its general features to that granted by the State of Pennsylvania, in the year 1799. The Trustees appointed under which act, when obtained, shall take charge of the funds collected for said Seminary. And this committee shall report their doings to the next General Assembly.

6. John C. Young, John T. Edgar, Willis Lord, James Wood, Samuel Steele, James Smith, N. L. Rice, Z. Butler, James Hoge, J. J. Bullock, Robert J. Breckinridge, and E. D. McMaster, or any three of them, shall be a committee to revise the plan of the Seminary, now provisionally adopted, and report to the next General Assembly, in detail, a complete plan for said Seminary—embracing every department thereof, and covering the whole matter of studies, professorships, students, terms, vacations, scholarships, classes, course of studies, and whatever else may fall under the practical and interior operations of the Seminary.

7. Whatever funds are now held, or may be hereafter raised, for the benefit of said Seminary, shall be liable, as to the income of all funds now vested, and, so far as may be needful, both principal and interest of funds yet to be raised, to meet the necessary current expenses of the Seminary of all kinds. And to this end, the Professors who may be inducted into office, shall, after their said induction, be a committee to receive said income and funds, as far as may be necessary, as aforesaid, from any agents, corporations, or others, having charge thereof; and they shall appropriate the moneys so received, to the necessary current expenses of the Seminary, of all kinds—keeping a strict account thereof—and reporting, in detail, to the next General Assembly. This order, to be in force only until a Board of Trustees for the Assembly, and a Treasurer for said Board, shall be duly appointed under the laws of Kentucky.

8. The General Assembly has gone forward in this present work, under the leadings of Divine Providence, relying on the ability and willingness of God's people to furnish the large means necessary to accomplish it in a proper manner, and upon God himself to bless it abundantly. They do therefore commend the subject to the prompt and efficient liberality of all the churches under its care, and more especially those churches which lie in the wide region which will be first and most largely blessed by the Institution. Deeply sensible that nothing can be done without the blessing of God, humbly and confidently relying on him, they see no reason to doubt that what they have projected can be surely accomplished.

The following gentlemen were elected as Professors in the new Seminary:

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, Professor of Didactic Theology.

Dr. Edward P. Humphrey, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government.

Dr. Palmer, Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature.

Dr. Phineas D. Gurley, Professor of Pastoral Theology.*

* The state of the ballot on these appointments is thus reported :

The tellers on the vote for a Professor of Didactic Theology, reported as follows :

Number of votes given,	-	-	-	-	-	183
Necessary to a choice,	-	-	-	-	-	92
Of which Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge had received,	-	-	-	-	-	124
Dr. Rice,	-	-	-	-	-	54
Dr. J. F. Crowe,	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dr. Humphrey,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Blanks,	-	-	-	-	-	2

So that Dr. Breckinridge had a majority of 32.

Whereupon he was declared by the Moderator to be duly elected.

The tellers on the vote for the Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature at Danville, made the following report of the result of the ballot :

Total number of votes given,	-	-	-	-	-	186
Necessary to a choice,	-	-	-	-	-	94
Of which Dr. Palmer received,	-	-	-	-	-	109
Dr. Lindsley,	-	-	-	-	-	75
Dr. W. L. Breckinridge,	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dr. L. W. Green,	-	-	-	-	-	1

The tellers on the ballot for a Professor of Pastoral Theology at Danville, made the following report :

Whole number of ballots cast,	-	-	-	-	-	183
Necessary to a choice,	-	-	-	-	-	92
Of which Dr. Gurley had received,	-	-	-	-	-	140
Dr. Edgar,	-	-	-	-	-	35
Scattering,	-	-	-	-	-	8

So Dr. Gurley was declared duly elected.

For the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, there was but one nomination—Dr. Humphrey.

Election of Professors for the Seminaries at Allegheny and Princeton.

The first ballot for a Professor of Pastoral Theology, Sacred Rhetoric, and Church Government, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes,	-	-	-	-	217
Necessary to a choice,	-	-	-	-	109
For Dr. Boardman,	-	-	-	-	98
For Dr. Plumer,	-	-	-	-	46
For Dr. Spring,	-	-	-	-	25
For Dr. McGill,	-	-	-	-	46
For Dr. Magie,	-	-	-	-	2

Dr. Magie, before balloting commenced, withdrew his name, as Dr. Spring did his before taking the second ballot the following day.

The whole number of votes was again,	-	217
For Dr. Boardman,	-	130
Dr. Plumer,	-	31
Dr. McGill,	-	51
Dr. Spring,	-	2

Dr. Boardman was, therefore, declared to be duly elected.

Two Chairs were to be filled in the Seminary at Allegheny. Dr. Alexander T. McGill was unanimously appointed, without a ballot, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government.

For the Chair of Pastoral Theology and Rhetoric, the vote stood thus:

The whole number of votes were,	-	188
Necessary to a choice,	-	95
For Dr. John Hall, of Trenton, N. J.,	-	101
For Rev. T. V. Moore, of Richmond, Va.,	-	42
For Dr. James Hoge,	-	2
For Dr. M. B. Hope,	-	1

Dr. Hope's name was withdrawn before the balloting; neither of the other gentlemen voted for on this ballot were in the city at the time.

It is to be presumed that all the brethren elected to the several chairs above named, have before this come to a decision whether to accept or to decline the offices tendered to them.

The remarks, therefore, which follow, are not intended to bear on any of the above cases, but to suggest certain principles which may be worthy of consideration for the future.

First, What is the authority properly due to the Church in appointing men to office? According to one view, it is absolutely nothing. The call of the Church carries with it no authority. It simply opens a particular door, and says to the man elected, you may enter if you see fit. A certain amount of deference is, of course, rendered to the wishes or judgment of any large number of Christian brethren, but the idea never seems to have entered into the minds of many of our brethren, that the Church has a legitimate and divine right not only to the services of the ministers, but to an authoritative voice as to where and how that service shall be rendered. The Rev. Mr. Edwards of Indiana, expressed in few words the true doctrine on this subject, when he said: "There was one thing which seemed to have escaped the minds of the brethren; it was, that every minister of the Presbyterian Church promised at his ordination to submit to his brethren in the Lord; the Assembly had a perfect right to transfer, as under the sought guidance of the Spirit of God, any member of the Church to any other station where, in its judgment, he might better serve the general cause, and more effectually promote the glory of God. Let the Assembly proceed with great consideration and delicacy indeed, but with firm adherence to its rights." This is one of the essential distinguishing principles between Presbyterianism and Congregational independence. To the latter there is no real, objective, tangible unity of the Church; no body larger than a parish to which allegiance and obedience are due. The doctrine of our standards is, that the Spirit of God dwelling in his people makes them one body in Christ, and that to this body the allegiance and obedience of every member are due. The Church, however, is neither omniscient nor infallible, and therefore it may often, through ignorance, order things which, if better informed, it would forbid. Consequently no order or decision of the Church binds the conscience without appeal. The Church may order a man on a foreign mission, or to some other station, ignorant of his domestic relations, or of his physical constitution. The person thus ordered may properly

say, I cannot go, because I have relations whom I cannot, with a good conscience, leave; or, because I have an organic disease which disqualifies me for the work. As soon as such facts are known, his going ceases to be the will of the Church, and he is guilty of no disobedience in refusing the primary outward call. It would, however, be disobedience, and, according to our doctrine, a violation of his ordination vows, for such a man to refuse compliance on the ground of his preferring some other work to that to which he was called; or on the ground that his own judgment differed from that of the Church. The case, we conceive, is in many respects analogous to the relation of our naval officers to the department at Washington. If an officer is ordered to a particular station, and informs the Secretary that his constitution will not endure the climate; or if he can assign any other good reason for declining, the order is never pressed. But if such officer were to answer, "I prefer a home to a foreign station;" or, "I think I can do the service more good here than there"—he would show he had no idea of his proper place. We think this is a matter deserving serious consideration. Men are solemnly called to certain parts in the Church, and then gravely sit down to determine where they can do the most good, as though their judgment was to be put above that of the body in whom God dwells by his Spirit, and whose decisions he has promised to control.

Admitting that the will of the Church is authoritative—how is that will to be ascertained? We answer: first by the legitimate action of her appropriate organs. To us the General Assembly is the organ for expressing the will of our whole Church, and if any man refuses to regard the decision of the Assembly as the voice of the Church, he must show good reason for so refusing. It, no doubt, often happens that the acts of the Assembly are hasty, inconsiderate, and erroneous—not expressing the deliberate judgment even of the members present, much less of the whole Church. We are very far from saying that every decision of the Assembly is to be regarded as expressing the voice of the Church; but such decision is *prima facie* evidence of what the mind of the Church is; and if it is contested it must be for reasons given. It is not, however, only through the action of public bodies that public sen-

timent is known; neither does the Church manifest her will exclusively through ecclesiastical courts. There are a thousand channels of communication from the whole to the several parts. The inward convictions of the Church manifest themselves in a thousand ways, so that practically there is seldom any difficulty in determining what that mind is. What we are concerned about is, asserting for the mind of the Church an authority paramount to the private preferences or opinions of individuals. If the Church calls a man to the work of foreign missions; it is not competent to him to say "*I think* I can do more 'good at home;'" or, if she calls him to be a teacher, it is not for him to say "*I think* I can be more useful as a pastor."

Another question of no little practical importance is, when should a man decide whether he will accept a given office, before, or after his election? Some men seem to think that the question is not before them until the election has been made, and that they cannot be expected to answer beforehand what they will do, and, if asked, reply, That is a question we cannot answer. It is indeed obvious that in many cases no opportunity is afforded to form a decision before the election. Not unfrequently the election is the first intimation received on the subject. Or the election may come so unexpectedly that no time is allowed for consideration. Or it may take place under circumstances which render it very doubtful whether it expresses the mind of the Church. All this is plain, but it is aside from the real point of difference. There are cases in which a brother may have had for weeks or months the probability of his election to a certain office before his mind, so that full opportunity is afforded for consideration, and yet the principle is assumed and acted upon, that he is not called upon to decide or even seriously to consider the matter until he is elected. The true principle, we conceive to be just the opposite, viz: that a man is bound to prevent his election to any office or station which he does not intend to accept; and consequently that refusing to prevent such election when it could be done, imposes a strong obligation not to refuse. The reasons for this are obvious. Great trouble, anxiety, and effort are often involved in an election, which no man has a right to impose on others to no purpose. Or great delay may be occa-

sioned in filling important posts; and thus manifold injury be inflicted on important interests. In civil matters this principle is always acted upon. If a man is nominated as governor of a state, in political convention, he may very properly say, he does not wish the office, that its acceptance would involve great personal sacrifice; that he did not consider himself qualified for the post; that he earnestly wished some other person should be selected; yet if these objections are overruled, and he consents to allow the election to go on, the case is decided. If chosen he feels bound to accept. That is, it is universally regarded in politics that the proper time to refuse an office is before, and not after an election. And we see no reason why it should not be so in the Church. It would save a world of trouble.

It is neither to be expected nor desired that those who do not hold this principle should act upon it. We repeat what we said before, that the object of these remarks is not to bear on any pending cases, which we presume are already decided in the minds of those concerned, but to suggest considerations for the future.

Historical Society.

A memorial was presented to the Assembly from the Presbyterian Historical Society, requesting the Assembly to take certain action to promote the interests of the Society, whereupon the following resolutions were adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly hereby testify their interest in the organization of the Presbyterian Historical Society, and deem the objects of sufficient importance to call the attention of the Synods and Presbyteries to such forms of co-operation in securing the materials of our Church history as may seem to them expedient.

2. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly commit all the manuscript materials, pertaining to the history of the Presbyterian Church, which have been collected in past years under their authority, to the custody of the Presbyterian Historical Society.

3. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly give to the Historical Society permission to select from the publications of

their Board of Publication such volumes as may belong to their department, for the purpose of our Historical Library; and the further permission to select, from time to time, whatever works may be necessary for the purposes of exchange with other Historical Societies or agencies.

Church in the City of Washington.

The Report of the Committee on the Church in Washington being taken up, Dr. Smith of Baltimore offered a substitute for a portion of the original report, which was adopted, and the question being on the adoption of the paper, thus amended,

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said he had no objection to the Presbytery of Baltimore doing this work, but he objected to the Assembly becoming so completely responsible for the enterprise.

Mr. Stockton thought the subject should be left to the friends of the Presbytery of Baltimore, with the commendation of the Assembly.

Mr. Atkinson said, the question was simply, whether having put our hand to the plough, we should look back. After having made the attempt to do this thing, to abandon it would be most disastrous. He had himself acted for a short time as an agent for this enterprise, and had been much encouraged. Other denominations were doing a similar work for themselves in Washington, and we must sooner or later have this church. The Assembly is the proper body to act in this matter. It is a work in which the whole Church should engage.

Dr. Henry said he had no objection to the Presbytery of Baltimore appointing an agent to go through the churches and collect the money for such a church, but it did not seem to him to belong to the Assembly. We need the funds which can be collected for Church Extension, for general purposes in destitute regions.

Dr. Junkin said there was a tide in the affairs of men which ought to be improved; it was so now as to our interests in Washington. All arguments against an expensive church for Washington, would bear against expensive churches everywhere. Can it be possible that brethren can think that such a population as that at Washington, and its peculiar relations to

our whole country, do not make a strong appeal to us to do this work. We have sustained great losses as a denomination there already for want of it. Two General Assemblies have already recommended the object, and a portion of the money has been raised. Shall we go back? The high importance of the object should commend it to all. We ought to look this thing in the face, and if we cannot build it up, let us talk it up.

The previous question having been moved, the question was taken on the amended report, and the report was adopted by a large majority.

1. It affirms the importance and desirableness of the object.
2. Requests the Church Extension Committee for the City of Washington, appointed by the Presbytery of Baltimore, to appoint an agent to raise the sum of \$50,000 for this object.
3. Directs them to purchase a suitable lot as soon as possible; and, 4. Commends the whole project earnestly to the sympathies and support of the churches.

During the discussion of these resolutions, Mr. Lowrie stated that he was authorized to say that whenever \$48,000 were raised, the remaining \$2000 should be forthcoming.

Rights of Conscience for Americans Abroad.

The report of a Special Committee appointed by the last General Assembly, of which Dr. Plumer was chairman, on the subject of the rights of conscience of American citizens in foreign parts, was taken up and read.

Dr. Baird hoped that the report would be adopted, that part of it might be published, and that the Assembly would recommend the churches under its care to memorialize Congress in favour of securing by treaty the liberty of Americans abroad to the enjoyment of the rights of conscience. General Cass and Mr. Underwood had both begged him not to let this measure fail. Mr. Underwood had made an able speech in its behalf; and the Government was favourable to the object. Dr. Baird had visited Washington on purpose to see the Government, in this matter, and had found both President Fillmore and Mr. Everett, Secretary of State, eminently favourable, and he had reason to believe that the present administration were not less so. The measure met with strong, though secret opposition,

from the Roman Catholics. Copies of a memorial to Congress, praying that such provision might be made by treaty, had been carried to the Catholic priests, bishops, and laymen, and thus far, not one of them had signed. Rome was well aware that her interests would be the loser by any change. Dr. Baird observed that there was not a Protestant country on the globe that did not allow Roman Catholics freedom of worship; even Sweden, the most intolerant government in Europe, allowed this privilege to foreign Catholics, and they now enjoyed and exercised it in Stockholm. Certainly it was right and just that our citizens should enjoy the same right in Catholic countries.

Chancellor Johns rose to set himself right in this matter. Concurring with the language of the report as to the right, considered as a civil right, of freedom of conscience for our citizens abroad, he differed from it as to the mode of getting this right secured. As these were civil rights, he deprecated the first movement of ecclesiastical bodies, as such, in approaching Congress on the subject. There was great danger in it as a mere matter of expediency, because if we once opened the door to such applications, there were other ecclesiastical organizations all round us far stronger than we, and who would beat us two to one. It would be far better for the members to exert themselves to throw their personal influence around our representatives in Congress, than to attempt an approach to that body in our ecclesiastical capacity. By attempting this, we encroach at once upon that sacred principle of our Constitution—the perfect separation between Church and State. In every Popish country the very first step of Rome was to get the supremacy over the civil power. They had done it; and did we expect to get the better of them on their own ground? No; the right invaded was a civil right; better leave the subject to the civil power. We had no more right to memorialize Congress as an Assembly, than Congress had to memorialize us as a General Assembly. Judge Grier, in his letter that had been read, was very cautious to make a distinction between the right of an ecclesiastical body to petition, and the right of a citizen.

It was the recognition of this very principle which had saved

to our Church her rights in the late distressing controversy about church property. The principle was a fundamental one. No civil court could interfere with our action as an ecclesiastical body, nor could we, as such, with the action of Congress.

Dr. McDowell had been greatly surprised at the position taken by the Chancellor. He had supposed it to be the settled right of all to petition our rulers; and whether we should do so as a church, or in our private capacity, was a mere question of expediency. The right in question was not a civil, but a religious right—it was immediately connected with religion; and it was the attachment to that right which had brought our fathers to these shores. There was no time, now, to discuss the subject; but the fallacy of the Chancellor's argument lay in confounding civil with religious rights.

Dr. Matthews moved that the report be received and adopted, and the resolutions printed in the Appendix to the Minutes; the rest to be referred to the Board of Publication.

A desultory debate arose—Dr. Murray advocated the report, and hoped it would be unanimously adopted.

Dr. Junkin protested against the position taken by the Chancellor, denying that it was any infringement of the separation between Church and State for the Assembly to memorialize Congress on this subject. It might be difficult to point out the precise limits between a civil and religious right: but rights of conscience, whatever they were, ought to be as much defended by our government as rights of property.

Dr. McDowell advocated the postponement of the whole subject to the next General Assembly.

Dr. Magie opposed the postponement, and thought the matter might be as well settled at once. He hoped the Assembly would express its decided opinion, and make that opinion tell in the proper quarter.

Dr. Neill thought we ought to move in this matter very cautiously. The subject had been long considered, and was much discussed at the last meeting of the Assembly. A committee had been appointed, who had looked into the question, and had in the report given us their views at length. He seconded the views of Dr. Magie, and hoped the resolutions would be adopted. The postponement was lost—the report adopted,

and, after a long conversation, it was agreed not to place it on the minutes, but to recommend to our religious journals to give it a wide circulation.

Complaint of James Russell.

The case of James Russell against the Synod of Georgia, is a complaint against the Synod for re-affirming the action of the Presbytery of Flint River, censuring him in a case where he was a prosecutor, and where, although the charges against the person prosecuted were not sustained, the Presbytery had still censured him for the exhibition of a bad spirit. The Rev. J. Y. Alexander was prosecuted by Mr. Russell for having manifested an unchristian spirit, &c. The Synod of Georgia re-affirmed the action of the Presbytery, censuring Mr. Alexander, but at the same time censured Mr. Russell for the improper spirit which he had manifested. It is against this action of the Synod censuring him, and not sustaining his charges against J. Y. Alexander, that he now complains to the General Assembly.

Dr. Junkin went into a narrative of the whole unpleasant series of disputes and mutual recriminations, which marked the progress of the affair. The difficulty originated in the zeal of the minister in the cause of Temperance reform; which giving offence to some of his elders and people, their remonstrances did but aggravate his severity, and things continued to go from bad to worse, till the Presbytery was called on to investigate the affair; from its action thereon the party appealed to Synod; and from the action of the Synod he brought his case up to the General Assembly.

The pleadings having thus been gone through with, it was

Ordered, that the roll be called twice; that at the first time each member should be at liberty fully to express his views of the case; and on the second calling, should deliver his vote, either—1. To sustain the appeal; or 2. To sustain in part; or 3. Not to sustain.

The roll was thereupon called, and such members as pleased availed themselves of the privilege of explaining the reasons of their vote.

The roll being called again for the votes, it was reported by the Stated Clerk that there were,

For sustaining,	-	-	-	-	13
For sustaining in part,	-	-	-	-	12
For not sustaining,	-	-	-	-	81
Non liquet,	-	-	-	-	13
Excused from voting,	-	-	-	-	2

There is no part of our system which works so heavily as that of appeals and complaints. There are great inconveniences connected with it. 1. The whole Church is liable to be harassed and occupied by causes of no general importance. Three hundred men sitting in Philadelphia as the representatives of the whole of our Church, may have their time largely occupied in deciding whether a man in Georgia showed, on a given occasion, six months ago, a bad spirit. 2. The General Assembly is, from its size, an incompetent tribunal. Most persons would rather be tried by twelve men chosen out of the Assembly by lot, than by the whole three hundred. 3. The consumption of time is intolerable. A judicial case recently occupied one of our Presbyteries sixty days. It would require three weeks session of the General Assembly, intelligently and righteously to review that case. This is out of the question; and hence, 4. There is a frequent denial of justice. Such is the disposition of the house to get rid of a protracted judicial case, that every expedient is resorted to, to stave it off.

We know that the minds of many are directed to the means of correcting these evils, consistently with our principles. Some propose to make the decisions of Synods final in all cases of appeal or complaint from the Presbyteries. But this violates our great principle that the whole must govern the parts, and that each part has a right to the protection of the whole. Besides, the remedy does not meet the case. It is impossible that our Synods can devote the time required to hearing such cases. We think we shall have to adopt the Scottish (and the Kentucky) method of commissions. A commission is a body consisting of not less than a quorum of the court appointing it, and in which every member of the court who chooses to attend, has the right to a seat, clothed with the full power of the

court itself. The Synod of Kentucky set the example of acting judicially by commission in the case of the Cumberland Presbytery. We think the practice must ultimately be sanctioned and incorporated into our system.

SHORT NOTICES.

Reason and Faith, and other Miscellanies of Henry Rogers, author of the "Eclipse of Faith." Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Company. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1853, 12mo. pp. 458.

A collection of essays originally contributed to the Edinburgh Review, and which will be welcomed by many of the readers of that journal in their present form. "The Eclipse of Faith," as many of our readers know, is a brilliant and effective *sortie* upon the modern outworks of infidelity, in the shape of Rationalism, and generally of philosophy falsely so called. This additional collection of essays by the same author, and on the same general class of subjects, will be found to be characterized by the same wide and complete mastery of the subject, in all its endless and ever-shifting phases, the same keen and trenchant logic, the same ease and raciness of style, and the same pure and lofty tone of evangelical piety. Though a large portion of the present volume is chiefly literary, rather than controversial, yet in view of the thorough handling of the mythic hypothesis of Strauss, and his English coadjutors Foxton and Froude, in the essay on "Reason and Faith; their Claims and Conflicts," taken in connection with the previous volume, "The Eclipse of Faith;" we think Mr. Rogers has fairly won a place among the foremost apologists whom the modern form of the great Christian controversy has produced.

The Child's Matins and Vespers. By a Mother. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 111 Washington street. 1853.

This little manual was written by the authoress for her own children. This circumstance has breathed into it a spirit of earnestness and tenderness, which scarcely any thing else would have ensured. It is made up of, 1. A series of simple reflec-

tions, appropriate to the morning and the evening of each day of the week, carried through several successive weeks; 2. The ten commandments, each followed by a short application, in the way of exposition and enforcement; 3. A collection of Scripture promises; and finally, a set of prayers for every morning and evening of the week.

The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament. A series of Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, by Frederick Dennison Maurice, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 466.

We take for granted, our readers already well know the author's intellectual character, and his theological stand-point, if indeed a progressive like Mr. Maurice can be said to have a stand-point at all. The work before us displays all the usual vigour, originality, and boldness of the author's way of thinking; combined with his well-known direct, earnest, effective, though by no means faultless, rhetoric. It is peculiar in this, that the leading views it inculcates, clearly, and indeed avowedly, owe their parentage to his intellectual and social relations with an accomplished legal gentleman of Scotland, Thomas Erskine, Esq., of Linlithgow, to whom the volume is dedicated. It is highly curious and suggestive, to observe the effect of this *strike* upon his theological philosophy of social and political truth, of the old Scottish doctrine, incorporated in the testimony of the Scottish heroes of the seventeenth century, and the great soul-inspiring claims of their national proclamation, that God himself is the King, the Lawgiver, the Judge of a nation; that his government over the Jews was not a more actual government than that which he exercised over Scotland, and still exercises over Christian nations. This infusion of the blood of Old Scotland into the vigorous circulation of Young England, cannot fail to awaken in the minds of thoughtful readers both interest and hope. The reader, whether he can agree with all the bold thoughts of the author or not, will at least find this book filled with what Bacon so significantly calls the "*semina rerum*."

The Difficulties of Infidelity. By George Stanley Faber, B. D., to which is added *Modern Infidelity Considered.* By Robert Hall, A. M. And a Catalogue of all the Books known to have been written on the Evidence of Revealed Religion. New York: William Gowans. 1853. pp. 217, 69 and 30.

A beautiful reprint of two of the best known and ablest works on apologetics, in the language. The form of the book

is that which we have several times before had occasion to commend in Mr. Gowans' publications, as blending chasteness and beauty with convenience. The catalogue of books on the Evidence of Revealed Religion, appended by the publisher, is a very valuable feature of this edition. It is hardly to be expected that such a catalogue should be made absolutely complete at once; but the intelligent reader, who has any knowledge of the difficulties of the task, will be much more surprised at its fulness, than disappointed at missing any particular work from its thirty closely printed pages.

Poetry of the Vegetable World: A Popular Exposition of the Science of Botany, in its Relations to Man. By J. Schleiden, M.D., Professor of Botany in the University of Jena. Illustrated with Engravings. Edited by Alphonso Wood, M. A., author of the "Class-Book of Botany," &c. Cincinnati: Moore, Anderson, Wilstach & Keys. New York: Newman & Ivison, 1853. 12mo. pp. 356.

The title of this book will be likely to mislead. The author is a man of science and learning; and his work has so few elements of poetry, that we are at a loss to conceive what ever suggested such a title. The book displays a most extended knowledge and mastery of the subject; and every part of it is treated with reference to the most advanced scientific theories. Indeed, the scope embraced in the successive portions of the work is more varied and discursive than strikes us as wise for popular effect. We cannot by any means agree with all the author's metaphysics; but they are not put forward in a form likely to be either dangerous or offensive. But the reader may rely upon getting the most recent and authentic views of the physical philosophy of the vegetable world, set forth in earnest and glowing prose, with an occasional strike of the vague and dreamy character so common in the modern scientific works of Germany. Our botanical readers will, of course, recognize in Prof. Schleiden, one of the foremost names in their favourite science, and the leading advocate, if not the first propounder, of one of the two hypotheses, which are at this moment *sub judice*, in regard to the physiology of the elongated pollen-tribe, in the production of the primary cell, within the nucleus of the ovule in plants. And although the weight of authority seems likely to determine against the hypothesis of the author, on this particular point in the philosophy of reproduction, yet it is supported by so many and such striking analogies, that every professional student will be glad that so much of the views of the author, on the whole range of vegetable physiology, has been made accessible to us in a popular form, and in our mother tongue.

The Doctrinal Differences which have agitated and divided the Presbyterian Church; or, Old and New Theology. By James Wood, D.D. Philadelphia; Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1853. 12mo. pp. 290.

A new and enlarged edition of a well-known standard book, which we have several times had occasion to notice favourably.

The Old and the New; or, Changes of Thirty Years in the East, with some allusions to Oriental Customs as elucidating Scripture. By William Goodell, Missionary in Constantinople. With an introduction, by Rev. William Adams, D.D. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853. 12mo. pp. 240.

This is a very interesting and instructive little volume. The title-page sufficiently describes its plan; and the name of the respected author is a sufficient guaranty of its style of execution, and the value of its contents. Mr. Goodell, who is now one of our oldest and best-known American Missionaries, has brought together the fruits of his missionary experience in a light that is peculiarly entertaining. It is very curious to note the changes which the dynamic force of the gospel has already initiated among those conservative races of men who have lain unmoved for such a succession of centuries. The relation of the book to the interpretation of the Scriptures, gives it an additional value, as well as an additional charm. The coloured illustrations also add greatly to the graphic force of the letter-press. Altogether we have peculiar pleasure in recommending the little volume to our Christian readers, and especially to those whose hearts warm to every thing that comes from the missionary field.

Life of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Rev. Jas. C. Moffat, M.A., Professor of Latin, and Lecturer on History in the College of New Jersey, Princeton. Cincinnati: Moore, Anderson, Wilstach & Keys. New York: Newman & Ivison, 1853. 12mo. pp. 435.

The Life of Dr. Chalmers marks an epoch not only in the religious history of the Church of Scotland, but in the history of Scotland herself, and indeed of Protestant Christianity. It is neither fitting nor possible that such a man should die. It strikes us, therefore, as a happy thought, to popularize this stirring Life, by bringing it within the means of every Christian man and woman in the land. The editor, Prof. Moffat, of the College of New Jersey, has done his work with carefulness and fidelity, preserving for the most part the language, and in all cases the spirit of the original work of Dr. Hanna. It can hardly be necessary to say, that those who can command the Memoirs, in four volumes, would be unwise to accept in lieu of them the single volume now before us. Its object is not to supersede, but to outrun its heavier predecessor. Thousands,

it may be hoped, will catch the inspiration, and repeat on their own scale the example of a man whose Christian earnestness was one great secret of his unexampled influence and usefulness.

Memoir and Sermons of Rev. W. J. Armstrong, D. D., late Secretary of the Am. Bd. Com. for Foreign Missions. Edited by Rev. Hollis Read. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853. 12mo. pp. 411.

The earnest, busy, public life of Dr. Armstrong, first as a pastor, and then as secretary of our oldest foreign missionary organization, closed as it was by a tragio catastrophe which sent a thrill of sorrow throughout the land, combine to give a melancholy charm to his Memoirs and Remains. The thousands who knew Dr. Armstrong, whether in the well-known fervor of his public ministry, or as a warm-hearted and disinterested personal friend, will welcome this simple but truthful memorial of him. The leading traits of his character were his benevolence, self-denial, earnestness, and piety; the whole coupled with a clear, discriminating, vigorous intellect. His sermons, which make two-thirds of the volume, are, like himself, filled with lofty reverence for God, and a warm, compassionate, irrepressible love for the salvation and spiritual welfare of his hearers. We have seldom read sermons which have impressed us more deeply with the conviction of honesty in their faithful appeals to the conscience, or by the commanding power of moral goodness in the preacher.

The Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of the Christian Character. By Harvey Newcomb. Revised edition, with an Address on Female Education. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853. 12mo. pp. 330.

Mr. Newcomb has been for some years an industrious and prolific writer on practical and useful subjects, chiefly intended for the benefit of the young. The work before us is more elaborate than any previous one we remember to have seen. It is remarkable for judiciousness, good sense, and piety. It treats true religious character as progressive; its growth depending on the correctness and completeness of our doctrinal knowledge, coupled with true and earnest culture of our character and active powers, and of our devotional or spiritual experience. The plan of the book is comprehensive, and filled out as it is with earnestness, solemnity, piety, and good sense, it forms a safe and excellent *vade mecum* for a Christian young lady, and indeed for Christians generally, of all ages and of either sex.

Two Sermons on Church Communion and Excommunication, with a particular view to the case of Slaveholders in the Church. By Noah Porter, Pastor of the First Church in Farmington, Conn.

The doctrine of this sermon may be briefly stated thus: All

who give evidence of Christian piety ought to be admitted to the Lord's table, however that piety may be marred by remaining sins and infirmities; many slaveholders give credible evidence that they are the true friends of Christ; therefore, *though slavery is an iniquity*, slaveholders, if on other grounds entitled to Christian communion, ought not, on this account, to be debarred from it. Having reached this conclusion, the author very justly argues that it is fatal to the views of those abolitionists, who would deny the Lord's Supper to such professing Christians as give no evidence of a want of piety, beyond the simple fact that they hold slaves; or who would withdraw from all Bible, missionary, or tract societies, that do not anathematize slaveholders as such.

The justness and high importance of this great doctrine of the discourse, and of its applications, cannot be doubted by any who make the Bible the rule of faith and practice. We cannot, however, say as much of some of the principles and reasonings by which the author defends this position. These seem to us to undermine his conclusion. He escapes this result only by advancing a false principle in morals, quite as objectionable as the great error against which his discourse is levelled. He says:

"There is no question of difference among us, or among any of the Churches of the North, (?) so far as I know, about the sinfulness of slavery. They all, I believe, are agreed in pronouncing it, as the late Congregational convention at Albany pronounced it, a 'stupendous wrong.'" * * *

"By necessary consequence, there is no question among us, whether we may in any circumstances justify slavery, have fellowship with it, apologize for it, excuse it, or in any manner countenance or aid it. Having once decided that slavery is sinful, we have decided that, as followers of Him who came to take away sin, we are bound not only to have no fellowship with it, but to reprove it."

If this be so, how can we extend that sort of countenance and fellowship to slaveholders, which is involved in admitting them to the Lord's Supper? To this the venerable author gives a twofold answer.

1. "You enter into partnership with another in trade. He may be an infidel or a profane swearer. But your fellowship with him extends only to your business. * * * Just so, if your fellowship with another in the Lord's Supper expresses approval of his sin, you are so far a partaker of his sin. But it does not express this." Our difficulty with this is, that while it is true under certain limitations, yet the same thing might

be said, if the communicant were an habitual and incorrigible liar, thief, or adulterer. Of course Dr. Porter does not mean to open the doors of Church communion to such reprobates. And why? Because persistence in such sins is plainly inconsistent with Christian character. But if slaveholding be like these, a sin in its own nature, and not only so, but a scandalous and flagrant sin, does not all persistence in such known sin, according to the principles of the gospel, prove a want of true piety, and unfitness for the communion? And, according to the same standard, does not that state of mind which, after due labour used, cannot see the sinfulness of any scandal, or obvious immorality, or "stupendous wrong," argue a moral blindness which cannot be attributed to any who are led by the Spirit of God? We think so. And so we think that conceding to slaveholders a right to a place in a Christian church, is conceding that mere slaveholding is not a sin or an immorality, which is giving up the cardinal principle of abolitionism, held, as Dr. Porter believes, by all the Churches; as we believe, by only a party, at the North. Hence those who hold that slavery is an immorality, but yet that slaveholders should not be excluded from the Church, must find some reconciling principle, according to which he who commits this sin is nevertheless not a sinner. What is it? This brings us to the second principle advanced by Dr. Porter for the solution of the difficulty in hand. He says: "The morality of any particular action depends on the governing motive—the state of the heart which prompts it. Slaveholding from motives of humanity is one thing; and slaveholding from motives of cupidity is another." Once abandon the dogma that slaveholding is in its own nature an immorality—allow that in itself, aside from abuses practised in connection with it, it ranks in the category of things morally indifferent—and there is a high sense in which this is true. But how can it be true on the hypothesis that slaveholding is in its own nature morally wrong? For example, does he who lies, or steals, or worships idols, from "motives of benevolence," thus make such sins no longer sins, or himself no sinner? Such an idea upturns all foundations, and installs every one's caprice, or notions of expediency, above the law of God and of rectitude, as the standard of morality. That which is in itself sin is evermore such, with whatever views or motives committed. If men do not see it to be such, if they call evil good and good evil, this is due to a moral blindness which God abhors and condemns. It is against this, in our view, demoralizing principle, which many good men have taken up without due reflection upon its nature and fruits, because it quickly cuts, instead of untying, many of the gordian knots of casuistry, that we wish especially to protest.

The only true solution of it is, that the mere holding of slaves, i. e., of a title to their services without their consent, ranks with things morally indifferent. Those who have this power are, of course, responsible for the manner in which they exercise it, and if they practise immorality therein, are amenable, when members of the Church of Christ, to her discipline, like other transgressors. This view alone accords with Scripture, or with the unperverted moral judgments of mankind. No other is consistent with the continued peace, unity, and purity of the Church, or can prevent the disruption of the existing bonds of Church fellowship, and of our national union.

These sermons abound with sensible views, and breathe an excellent spirit. The main principle advocated is just and important. The points in the argument to which we have taken exception have hitherto been adopted by many good men in all parts of the country, who have felt called upon to withstand the abolitionists, but have not thoroughly reasoned out the subject. We are persuaded that they furnish no basis for a permanent acquiescence in the conclusion which they are designed to establish, viz: that mere slaveholding ought to be no bar to the communion of saints. That conclusion is rather the protest of Christian judgment and feeling, against the fanatical dogma that simple slaveholding is an immorality, than logically consistent with it.

A Discourse, commemorative of Amos Lawrence ; delivered by request of the Students in the Chapel of Williams College, February 21, 1853. By Mark Hopkins, D.D., President of the College.

Mr. Lawrence was a merchant of extraordinary intelligence, integrity, and success. He appears also to have been adorned with some of the finest traits of character as a man, and to have possessed no small measure of religious sensibility. The most remarkable feature in his character, however, was his beneficence. He was the chief benefactor of Williams College, and gave to charitable, religious, and public objects, during his lifetime, near half a million of dollars. And not only so, but, according to Dr. Hopkins, he gave his "personal attention and sympathy" along with his money. He gave, moreover, "as a Christian man, from a sense of religious obligation." So far he was a model for multitudes of professors of religion, who are luxuriating in affluence, and prostitute their wealth to purposes of avarice and self-indulgence. As he never withdrew from the Unitarian body, it is pleasing to read in the following extract of a letter from him to Dr. Hopkins, the symptoms of evangelical feeling which he manifested, and which, in all ordinary

cases, must be the foundation of such a character. "Our dead Unitarianism of ten or fifteen years ago is stirred up, and the deep feelings of sin, and salvation through the Beloved, are awakened where there seemed to be nothing but indifference and coldness, and my hope and belief is that great good will follow." This was written in 1849. He also expressed the deepest interest in the revivals in Williams College, and the conversion of the students. This surely betokens a spirit far different from the old Unitarianism of Boston. Truly, we know not what God may yet do for the recovery of those ancient but apostate churches, which may yet be "beloved for the fathers' sakes!"

Twentieth Anniversary. A Commemorative Discourse, delivered in the North Church of Hartford, May 22, 1853. By the Pastor, Horace Bushnell.

This is a review of the author's ministry. The most noteworthy passage in it is the following, in which he says, referring to the time of his settlement: "I had many and great difficulties on my hands, in respect to gospel truths, which are now gone. In the list of my qualifications at that time for a preacher of Christ, I discover nothing which moves my respect, but the very small mustard seed of religious experience I seem to have had, together with a certain honesty of determination to find, if possible, the truth. * * * In these two conditions I see, indeed, possibilities of good, but how slender a furniture for the work actually on hand. I was coming into religion on the side of reason and philosophy, and, of course, had small conception of it as a faith and supernatural gift to the race. Now it is a faith, luminous, glorious, vital, and clear, and of course it is as little of a philosophy. I confess with some mortification, so deep was I in the beggarly elements of the school, that I did not really expect to remain in the ministry long."

We suppose this must be taken as the explanation of what the author's friends have been accustomed to say, viz: that his recent books indicate an advance upon his former theological views. Beneath the scheme presented in them, he was in a yet "lower deep" at the beginning of his ministry. If we understand him, he was then a sceptic, wholly unsettled as to the "first principles of the gospel of Christ." His progress seems to have been from believing little or nothing, to believing what is generally pronounced "another gospel." How came it that one thus needing to be taught the rudiments of Christianity, should be installed as the guide and teacher of others? Did he disguise or conceal his views? Or was the body that laid hands on him unfaithful? Or is there some other solution?

A Bee-Keeper's Manual. By the Rev. L. L. Langstroth. Northampton: Hopkins, Bridgman & Co., 1853.

The author having been compelled to abandon the active duties of the ministry by ill-health, has undertaken to shed light on the characteristics and management of bees, a department in which he has the advantage of being an enthusiast. Besides this, he has long been a close and accurate observer of the habits, ways, and instincts of this remarkable insect. He has brought a cultivated and gifted mind to the study of the subject. Besides what can be gathered from books, he has added much that is somewhat original, and derived wholly from his own observation. Those curious in such things will find much in the book to entertain them. Those who study these matters philosophically, will, of course, avail themselves of the stores of information here presented. To practical apiarians the treatise is full of valuable hints, while it brings to view inventions of the author for the practical management of bees before unknown.

Receiving and Giving. A Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered at Williamstown, Mass., August 15, 1852. By Mark Hopkins, D.D., President of Williams College.

Although it has but just fallen in our way, we take pleasure in calling attention to this discourse. It is distinguished by that combined justness, breadth, and delicacy of thought, expressed with that taste, force, and eloquence, which are so apt to characterize the sermons and other discourses of Dr. Hopkins.

Second Latin Book; comprising a Historical Latin Reader, with notes and rules for translating; and an Exercise Book, developing a complete Analytical Syntax, in a series of Lessons and Exercises, involving the Construction, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Latin Sentences. By Albert Harkness, A. M., Principal of the Classical Department in the New England Normal Institute. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, 1853. pp. 362.

Presuming some familiarity on the part of the student with the forms and inflection of the language, this work "aims to introduce the learner to a true knowledge and appreciation of the structure and spirit of the Latin tongue; and thus to prepare him to enter with success and pleasure upon the consecutive study of some Latin author." To this end the book seems, so far as we have the opportunity of judging, remarkably well adapted.

Regeneration. By Edmund H. Sears. Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1853. pp. 268.

This is a work of elevated thought and feeling. Mr. Sears seems to belong to that class of Unitarians who cannot be satisfied with the cold negations of Unitarianism, and who are struggling to find something like the gospel without its cross, and therefore, without its offence, and without its power.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Otto Strauss has prepared a Commentary on the Prophecy of Nahum. 8vo, pp. 134. 1½ thaler. Like his brother, Frederic Adolphus Strauss, the Commentator upon Zephaniah, and the author of Sinai and Golgotha, he is evangelical in sentiment, and a follower of Hengstenberg. Without displaying any great originality or critical acumen, this publication evinces much good sense, and an extensive acquaintance with the labours of those who have previously examined the same ground. Much use has been made of the recent explorations in Assyria for confirmation or illustration; and references to Layard, Botta, Rawlinson, Bononie, Rich, &c., are to be met with perpetually.

L. Diestel, *The Blessing of Jacob*, in Genesis xlix., historically illustrated. 8vo. pp. 127. ¾ thaler. This is another virgin publication, from the pen of a young scholar, now privat-docent of theology in the University of Bonn. The questions relating to the genuineness of this important chapter are discussed, and the whole passage expounded.

The Hebrew and Chaldee Thesaurus of Gesenius has at length been completed by Roediger, and the concluding number issued. 4to, pp. 1359-1522. But few papers were left by Gesenius in a state of readiness for the press. These have been incorporated in their appropriate places, and distinguished by the addition of his name. There are still some indexes, additions, and corrections to be published. 2½ thalers (complete, 17 thalers.)

The Pentateuch, or the Five Books of Moses, with the He-

brew text, a German translation, and explanatory notes, by Dr. Herrheimer (a Jewish Rabbi). The first volume of the second edition has been issued, containing *Genesis*. 8vo, pp. 208. 18 ngr.

H. Hupfeld, *Quæstionum in Jobeidos locos vexatos Specimen. Commentatio*. 4to. pp. 17. 6 ngr.

P. Schegg. *History of the last Prophets*. Part I. 8vo. pp. 203. $\frac{3}{4}$ thaler.

The publication of Stier and Theile's *Polyglott Bible* is slowly progressing. The second volume, containing the former and the latter prophets, has been completed. The first volume containing the Books of Moses, and the fourth, containing the New Testament, had been issued previously. There still remains the third, which is to contain the *Hagiographa*, and is to appear in successive numbers during this and the following year.

C. Tischendorf has published the *Apocryphal Gospels* in the original, with a text corrected by some MSS. not before examined, and some Gospels not before published. 8vo, pp. 463. $3\frac{2}{3}$ thalers.

A second edition has appeared of Bruder's *Greek Concordance to the New Testament*. 4to. pp. 878. 8 thalers.

J. P. Nickes, *On the Families of Greek Manuscripts of the Old Testament*. Part I. *Judith, Tobias, Esdras*. 8vo. pp. 43. $\frac{1}{2}$ thaler.

C. B. Moll, *The System of Practical Theology presented in Outline*. 8vo. pp. 404. $1\frac{1}{3}$ thaler.

J. Köstlin, *Luther's Doctrine of the Church*. 8vo. pp. 216. 24 ngr.

A. F. O. Münchmeyer, *The Office of the New Testament, according to the doctrine of Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions*. 8vo. pp. 83. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ngr.

G. Thomasius, *Christ's Person and Work*. Exhibition of the Evangelical-Lutheran dogmatics, from the central point of Christology. Part I. 8vo. pp. 462. $2\frac{1}{2}$ thalers.

L. Noack, *Theology as the Philosophy of Religion, presented in its scientific organism*. 8vo. pp. 249. $1\frac{1}{3}$ thaler.

L. Noack, *History of Christian Doctrine in its organic development presented in a condensed view*. 8vo. pp. 461. $2\frac{1}{3}$ thalers.

H. M. Chalybaeus, *Philosophy and Christianity*. 8vo. pp. 188. 24 ngr.

J. Müller, *The Views of Luther and Calvin respecting the Sacred Supper compared (in Latin)*. 4to. pp. 34. $\frac{1}{3}$ thaler.

J. L. Saalschütz, *The Laws of Moses, with the supplementary*

Talmudic and Rabbinical enactments, for students of the Bible, jurists, and statesmen. 2d edition. 8vo. pp. 926. 5 thalers.

Rabbi Moses ben Nachman's Dissertation on the Excellencies of the Mosaic doctrine, delivered in Saragossa before King James of Arragon. From the rare edition of Prague, 1595, with explanatory remarks by A. Jellinek. 8vo. pp. 40. 12 ngr.

Bet ha-Midrash, Collection of small Midrashim and Miscellaneous Treatises from the earlier Jewish literature. Published by A. Jellinek. 8vo. pp. 159. 1½ thaler.

A. Jellinek, Thomas Aquinas in Jewish Literature. 8vo. pp. 49. ¼ thaler.

Goldenthal, The most recent historical school in Jewish Literature, with an account of the Hebrew works of Leopold Duke, connected with this department. 8vo. pp. 32. ⅙ thaler.

A. Peip, Science and Historical Christianity. Preface to an outline of Christian Science. 8vo. pp. 56. ¼ thaler.

Letters, Briefs, and some other Acts of Clement XIV., illustrating his pontificate, drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican, and now just published, by A. Theiner. 8vo. pp. 403. 1½ thaler.

A. Theiner, History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV., from unpublished State Papers in the secret archives of the Vatican. 2 vols. 8vo. 4 thalers.

G. Weber, History of the Non-Catholic Churches and Sects of Great Britain. Part I. 2d vol. The Constructive part of the Reformation, and the Forming of the Puritan Sects. 8vo. pp. 704. 3 thalers.

The Biographies of the Troubadours in the Provençal language. 8vo. pp. 58. ½ thaler.

J. A. Helfert, Huss and Jerome. 8vo. pp. 332. 2 thaler.

E. Vehse, History of the German Courts since the Reformation. Vol. xxi. 8vo. pp. 322.

William von Humboldt. 16mo. pp. 260. ⅓ thaler.

J. Brandis, *Rerum Assyriarum tempora emendata*. Commentatio. 8vo. pp. 66. 12 ngr.

W. F. Rinck, Religion of the Hellenes developed, from the Myths, teachings of the Philosophers, and the Worship. Part I. Of God, and the relation of the world and man to God. 8vo. pp. 368. 1 thaler 24 ngr.

R. Lepsius, On the Twelfth Dynasty of Egyptian Kings. 4to. pp. 29. 2½ thalers.

The 5th No. of Grimm's German Dictionary completes the letter A. Each number contains 240 pages.

Kleinschrod, Pauperism in England, with an Appendix, on the Dwellings of the Poor and Labouring Classes in their influ-

ence on their Physical, Social, and Moral Condition. 8vo. pp. 130. 27 ngr.

Studien und Kritiken, for 1853. No. 3. Schöberlein, Confession and Union. Schultz, Cyrus the Great. Graf on the Position of the Exordium in the Sermon. A Correction of Neander's Church History.

Zeitschrift für Luth. Theologie u. Kirche for 1853. No. 2. J. H. Kurtz, Jeſta's Offer. L. Hellwig, erweckendes Bild der Lutherischen Kirche unserer Väter. W. Flörke, der Stand der Amtsfrage. H. E. F. Guericke, praktische Aphorismen zur Amtsfrage. Bibliographie der neuesten theolog. Literatur.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The popularizing of knowledge goes on at a rapid rate in England. We have before noticed the great activity displayed in the department of school-books. These are to be counted not by single ones, but by complete sets, comprehending, up to a certain point, the whole circle of knowledge. One peculiarity marks nearly all. They are intended for special education. Of course the primary books are the same, but the moment that manuals ascend above the rudiments, they are specially adapted to the trade, pursuit, or social position of the learner. This of course renders them more effective in their way, but very one-sided, and not suited for the purposes of a broad and liberal education. This is even the case with the text-books for those who go to the Universities. The form of a whole series, down even to the elementary volumes, is determined by the character of the examinations at Oxford and Cambridge. They are therefore disfigured to adapt them to the cramming system in use at the Universities.

The Crystal Palace has given a great impulse to the movement, begun before, to disseminate a knowledge of the scientific principles of the arts among artizans. The lectures at London on the "Results of the Exhibition," have given birth to courses all over the kingdom addressed to workmen, in which men of the very highest social and scientific position have taken the lead. There are indications of an attempt to instruct workmen, even in the principles and practice of art, especially as applicable to manufactures and the productive arts. This is proposed to be done by teaching classes in the elements of the subject; and by means of magnificent collections in the manufacturing districts, which will familiarize the operatives with beautiful forms. A most forcible and beautiful exposition of the practicability and advantages of this endeavour, is found in Cardi-

nal Wiseman's lecture at Manchester, on the "Relation of the Fine Arts to the Arts of Production;" which has been reprinted here in the (Catholic) "Freeman's Journal."

Instruction by lectures upon all subjects, and to all classes, is on the increase; and by the very necessities and tendencies of the case, "The Lecture" will have the effect of correcting in some degree the pedantry that now reigns over English education. To a superficial examiner even, the effect that a prevalence of lecturing has had, and is going to have on English style, is very evident. What is addressed to young minds and common people, must be expressed in a very simple, straightforward manner, and with no technical words; and the attempt to do this, has already given us models of pure, beautiful, and racy English, as (e. g.) the "Introductory Lectures" of Queen's College.

The East India Question is occupying more and more of the public mind. The most noticeable publications on the subject are "The Administration of the East India Company: a History of Indian Progress." By John W. Kaye, author of a "History of the War in Afghanistan." "India as it may be: an Outline of a proposed Government and Policy; a Scheme for the government of India." By George Campbell. "The Indian Question in 1853," by H. T. Prinsep, one of the oldest and ablest of English statesmen in India. "Statistical Papers relating to India." Printed for the Directors of the East India Company.

Two other volumes by Mr. Kaye are also announced, one entitled "Memorials of the Indian Government," being selections from the papers of Henry St. George Tucker, late Director of the East India Company; the other entitled "Life and Correspondence of H. St. George Tucker."

Among the books just published we notice:

"The Civil Administration of the Bombay Presidency. By Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, Fourth Translator and Interpreter of Her Majesty's Supreme Court, and Member of the Bombay Association." Published in England at the request of the Bombay Association. "History of the Byzantine Empire from A. D. 716 to 1057." By George Finlay, Esq., Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature and author of the "History of Greece under the Romans."

"Church History in England: being a sketch of the History of the Church of England, from the earliest times to the period of the Reformation." By the Rev. Arthur Martineau, M. A., vicar of Whitkirk, Yorkshire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. "Hebrew Politics in the times of Sargon and

Sennacherib:" an Inquiry into the Historical meaning and purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah, with some notice of their bearings on the Social and Political Life of England. By E. Strachey, Esq.

"History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection, (1689-1748.)" By John Hill Burton, author of "The Life of David Hume."

"History of the Protestants of France: from the commencement of the Reformation to the Present Time." Translated from the French of G. De Félice, D. D., Professor of Theology at Montauban. For this English translation Dr. Félice has written a supplementary chapter, bringing down the history to the present month.

"The Fall of the Roman Republic: a short History of the last Century of the Commonwealth." By the Rev. Chs. Merivale, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 7s. 6d. cloth.

Three volumes are now published of Mr. Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire. They bring the history from the first Triumvirate to the establishment of the Empire under Augustus. These volumes display a complete mastery over the materials, and have passages of polished sarcasm that have not been equalled since Gibbon.

"Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and the Bible Lands, from December 1850, to April, 1851:" by F. De Saulcy, Member of the French Institute, 2 vols. maps and illustrations.

"Castile and Andalusia:" by Lady Louisa Tenison, with numerous highly finished engravings, and illustrations on wood.

"A History of Latin Classical Literature:" by the Rev. R. W. Brown, M. A., Professor of Classics at King's College, London. We presume that this will be immediately republished, and, if one may judge from the author's "Greek Classical Literature," it will be very useful as a full synopsis for schools.

"Memoirs of Mary, Duchess of Burgundy," by Louisa Stuart Costello.

"A Summer Search for Sir John Franklin; with a peep into the Polar Basin: by Commander E. A. Inglefield, R. N.; with short notices by Professor Dickie on the Botany, and by Dr. Sutherland on the Meteorology and Geology; and a new chart of the Arctic Sea." 14s.

"How to Stop and when to Stop, or Punctuation reduced to a System:" by William Day. Price one shilling. An acute and useful work, and one greatly needed.

"The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk;" com-

prising travels in the regions of the Lower Danube in 1850 and 1851. By a British resident of twenty years in the East. 2 vols. A graphic, sensible, and interesting record of travel in those countries to which all eyes in Christendom are now turned. The writer, though coming into the Christian Provinces of Turkey, full of prejudice against the Turks, came to be a zealous advocate of the rule of the Sultan.

The third and fourth volumes of the Grenville Papers contain the letters assumed to have been written by Junius. The introductory and marginal notes of the editor, W. J. Smith, Esq., go to prove that Lord Temple was Junius, and Lady Temple his amanuensis. His proof rests "on comparisons, analogies, words, phrases, opinions, sympathies, feelings, agreements, disagreements, multiplied to an extent which leaves the mind perplexed and exhausted."

I. Payne Collier, Esq., the distinguished Shakspearian critic, some time ago purchased at a book sale a folio copy of the plays of Shakspeare, and lately examining it closely, found the margin covered with manuscript annotations, mostly corrections of the text, apparently from the hand of some one who had witnessed the early representations of the plays. These corrections he found so satisfactory, they cleared up so many passages, that heretofore have puzzled critics, that he published them under the title of "Notes and Emendations," (which have been republished here.) The propriety of these emendations has been violently called in question in the following publications:

"The Text of Shakspeare vindicated from the Interpolations and corruptions advocated by I. Payne Collier, Esq., in his Notes and Emendations:" by Samuel Weller Singer; and "A few Notes on Shakspeare; with occasional Remarks on the Emendations of the Manuscript Corrector in Mr. Collier's copy of the Folio of 1623;" by the Rev. Alexander Dyce.

The very authenticity of the Folio and its notes, has been called in question. Mr. Collier has however found the gentleman who before had it in his possession; and the evidence leaves no room for doubting that the corrections in the Folio are by a contemporaneous hand. Mr. Collier is hard at work, tracing up the author of the notes, whose name is Thomas Perkins.

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